In the Name of Allah,
the All- beneficent, the All- merciful

قال الله تعالى:

﴿ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمُ ٱلرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ ٱلْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا ﴾

Indeed Allah desires to repel all impurity from you, O People of the Household, and purify you with a thorough purification.

(*Sūrat Al-Aḥzāb* 33:33).

Prophetic traditions mentioned in both in Sunnī and Shī'ah authoritative reference books of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* (exegesis of the Qur'an) have confirmed that this holy verse was revealed to exclusively refer to the People of the Cloak [*ahl Al-kisā'*], viz. Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Al-Ḥasan, and Al-Ḥusayn ('a) as the *Ahl Al-Bayt* (People of the Household). For instance, refer to the following references: *Sunnī:* Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH), Al-*Musnad*, 1:231; 4:107; 6:292, 304; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (d. 261 AH), 7:130; Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH), *Sunan*, 5:361 et al.; Al-Dūlābī (d. 310 AH), Al-*Dhuriyyah Al-Ṭāhirah Al-Nabawiyyah*, p. 108; Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH), Al-*Sunan Al-Kubrā'*, 5:108; 113; Al-Ḥakīm Al-Nayshābūrī (d. 405 AH), Al-*Mustadrak 'ala' ṣ- Ṣahīḥāyn*, 2:416, 3:133, 146- 147; Al-Zarkashī (d. 794 AH), Al-*Burhān*, p. 197; Ibn Hājar Al-Asqalānī (d. 852 AH), *Fatḥ Al-Barī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, 7:104.

Shī'ah: Al-Kulaynī (d. 328 AH), *Uṣūl Al-Kāfī*, 1:287; Ibn Babawayh (d. 329 AH), Al-*Imāmah wa' t- Tabṣīrah*, p. 47, *ḥadīth* 29; Al-Maghribī (d. 363 AH), *Da'ā'im Al-Islām*, pp. 35, 37; Al-Ṣādūq (d. 381 AH), Al-*Khiṣāl*, pp. 403, 550; Al-Ṭūsī (d. 460 AH), Al-*Amalī*, *ḥadīth* 438, 482, 783.

For more details, refer to the exegesis of the holy verse recorded in the following books of *tafsīr*: Al-Jassās (d. 370 AH), *Aḥkām Al-Qur'ān*; Al-Wāḥidī (d. 468 AH), *Asbāb Al-Nuzūl*; Ibn Al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH), *Zād Al-Masīr*; Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 AH), Al-*Jāmi' Li- Aḥkām Al-Qur'ān*; Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH), *Tafsīr*; Al-Tha'labī (d. 825 AH), *Tafsīr*; Al-Ṭabarī (d. 875 AH), *Tafsīr*; Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH), Al-*Durr Al-Manthūr*; Al-Shawkānī (d. 1250 AH), *Fatḥ Al-Qadīr*; Al-'Ayyāshī (d. 320 AH), *Tafsīr*; Al-Qummī (d. 329 AH), *Tafsīr*; Furt Al-Kūfī (d. 352 AH), *Tafsīr* at the margin of the exegesis of *Sūrat Al-Nisā'* verse 59; Al-Ṭabarsī (d. 560 AH), *Majma' Al-Bayān*, as well as many other sources.

THE WAHHABIS BOOK

قال رسول الله ﷺ:

"إني تارك فيكُمُ الثَقلين: كتاب الله، وعترتي أهلَ بيتي، ما إن تمسكتُم بهما لن تضلوا أبداً وأنَّهُما لَن يَفترقا حتّى يردا عَليَّ الحوضَ"

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ) said: "Verily, I am leaving among you two precious things [thaqalayn]: The Book of Allah and my progeny ['itratī], the members of my Household [Ahl Al-Bayt]. If you hold fast to them, you shall never go astray. These two will never separate from each other until they meet me at the Pond [ḥawḍ] (of Kawthar)."

Some references:

Al-Ḥākim an-Nayshābūrī, Al-Mustadrak 'alā'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn (Beirut), vol. 3, pp. 109- 110, 148, 533

Muslim, Aṣ- Ṣaḥīḥ, (English translation), book 31, ḥadīths 5920-3

At-Tirmidhī, Aṣ- Ṣaḥīḥ, vol. 5, pp. 621- 2, ḥadīths 3786, 3788; vol. 2, p. 219

An- Nasā'ī, Khaṣā'iṣ 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ḥadīth 79

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Al-Musnad, vol. 3, pp. 14, 17, 26; vol. 3, pp. 26, 59; vol. 4, p. 371; vol. 5, pp. 181- 182, 189- 190

Ibn al-'Athīr, Jāmi' al-Uṣūl, vol. 1, p. 277

Ibn Kathīr, Al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah, vol. 5, p. 209

Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān Al-'Aẓīm, vol. 6, p. 199

Naṣīr ad- Dīn Al-Albanī, Silsilāt Al-Aḥādīth aṣ- Ṣaḥīḥah (Kuwait: Ad- Dār aṣ- Ṣalāfiyyah), vol. 4, pp. 355- 358

THE WAHHABIS BOOK

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CONTENTS

PREFACE—15

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE—17

INTRODUCTION—19

SECTION ONE
THE FOUNDERS OF THE WAHHABI SECT

How and from where did the Wahhabi beliefs arise, and why is the sect known by this name?—21
The name Wahhabi—22
Salafia or Salafiyun—23
Positive Attributes (*Sefaat Thobootia*) and Negative Attributes (*Sefaat Salbia*) —25
The story of Barbahari—25
A short account of the views and beliefs of Barbahari—29
Ibn Taymiyyah (661-728)—31
The following is a summary of the life of Ibn Taymiyyah based on a variety of sources—33
Ibn Taymiyyah meets Ghazan Khan Moghol—34
Views that were objected to—35
The method Ibn Taymiyyah used in discussions—39
The beliefs and views of Ibn Taymiyyah on religious jurisprudence—42

SECTION TWO
THE BELIEFS OF IBN TAYMIYYAH

1- The opinions of Ibn Taymiyyah on tawhid—45
Uluhiyyah and tawhid rububiyyah—45
2- Expanding the circle of *kufr* (blasphemy) and *shirk* (polytheism)—46
The explanation of the aforesaid matters—48
Other beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah—48
3- The belief in Ru'yah (sight) and Ithbat Jahat (*proof of direction)—49
The beliefs of Ibn Qayyim about Ru'yah (sight)—51
Reminder—54
The beliefs of Imam Al-Haramain Juwayni—56

4- The belief that God descends to the skies of the world—57
5- The belief that the infallibility of Prophets is necessary before they are given the Prophetic mission (Bi'tha)—58
6- After the Prophet's (s) death—59
7- His belief about the Hurma of Salat and Dua' in the Holy Marqad of the Prophet (s)—60
The explanation of the condition of the holy mausoleum—62
The chest on the Prophet's (s) grave—63
The covering of the holy grave, making it fragrant, hanging lanterns around it, and giving valuable presents—64
The dome on the cell—65
When were the doors of the Prophet's shrine closed?—66
The small stones on the floor of the mosque—67
Another explanation about visiting the Prophet's (s) holy grave and kissing and touching it—67
The rest of Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs about the grave and the holy rawdha—69
8- The Hurma of traveling to visit the graves—70
The explanation of the general and unanimous agreement regarding the issue of visiting graves—71
Another explanation of the attributions made to the Shi'ah—73
Reminder—77
Who are the Rafidha?—78
9- Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion about visiting the Prophet's (s) grave and other graves—80
The explanation about the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) holy grave and other graves—84
Performing prayers near the graves—91
Wailing and lamenting—92
The words of the Prophet (s) and the crying of the women—95
The beliefs of Shafi'i on this matter—95
10- Swearing by anything other than God—96
Swearing by anything other than God—97
11- Visiting honoured burial places and holy sites—98
12- About the Shi'ah—99
The explanation of the aforesaid matters—100
Another explanation of the ziyarah of the graves in the opinion of the Shi'ah—102
The manner in which one should do the ziyarah of the Prophet's (s) holy grave according to the Shi'ah—107
13- The graves of pious people—107
14- The construction of buildings on and around graves and the need to demolish them—108
15- Placing a prayer mat underneath you for prayer—109

16- Estighathah and tawassul to the Prophet (s) and placing the Prophet (s) as one's intercessor and asking for one's needs—109
The explanation of tawassul (seeking help from and resorting) to the Prophet (s)—110
The words of Nabhani about estighathah and tawassul—112
17- Sending *salawah* for the Prophet (s)—115
18- Building mosques and placing Qur'ans near graves—115
19- Everything new is an innovation—115
20- A general outlook on Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs—116
People who followed Ibn Taymiyyah's ways—117
Muhammad bin Ali Shawkani San'ani—118
The religion and beliefs of Shawkani—119
Some of Shawkani's beliefs and sayings—119

SECTION THREE
SHAYKH MUHAMMAD BIN ABD AL-WAHHAB THE LEADER OF THE WAHHABI SECT

Shaykh Muhammad's journey to Iran—124
Stating his ideology—126
The disagreement between the Prince of Ahsa' and the Shaykh—127
The beginning of the relationship between Shaykh Muhammad and Al Sa'ud—128
The regret Uthman felt—129
The effect the Shaykh's presence had on the living conditions of the people of Dir'iyyah—130
Shaykh Muhammad and the Sharif of Maccah—131
The character and ways of Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab—132
The end of Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's work—134
A few observations—134
The difference between the ideology of Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab—138

SECTION FOUR
THE BELIEFS OF THE WAHHABIS

1- The meaning of tawhid and "لا اله الا الله"—141
Other matters which are considered shirk or kufr according to the opinions of the Wahhabis—146
So who is a muwahhid?—147
2-To confess to Shahadatayn does not mean one is a Muslim—149
An explanation regarding this matter—150
Ruling someone to be blasphemous—151
To rule someone as kafir is the right of God (*no one else)—152
3-Ithbat Jahat for God—155
4- The attributes of God—157

5- About the first Prophets—158
6- Intercession and estighathah—158
Explaining estighathah—161
7- To call someone other than God sayyid or mowlana is shirk—162
The explanation of the aforesaid matters—163
8- About buildings around and over graves, offering sacrifices and doing nathr for graves, kindling lights near graves, and writing on grave-stones—166
The explanation of building over graves, kindling lights, offering sacrifices, doing nathr and writing on graves—168
The explanation about the saying that the heretics brought about shirk and the worshipping of the graves while they were the first people to build a mosque near graves—173
9- Ziyarah of the grave of the Prophet (s)—178
The explanation of the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's mausoleum being recommended—179
10- About the status of the Prophet (s)—183
11- Their belief about the Salaf Salih—186
12- The Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (s)—187
13- Usul Al-Din and Furu' Al-Din—189
14- Acting upon the literal meaning of the ayahs and Hadiths and opposing allegorical explanations—190
15- Ijtihad and taqlid—191
16- Matters that didn't exist at the time of the Prophet (s) and his companions—193
Other matters which they believed were innovations—197
The principle of prohibition and the principle of permissibility—198
A few observances—200
The beliefs of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab—204
The following books have been written in rejection to the Wahhabi beliefs:—206
Reminder—208
Extracts of the contents of some of the mentioned books—210
A few words from Sheik Sulayman, who was Shaykh Muhammad's brother—217
The Wahhabi and Hanbali sects—219
The sons of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab—221

SECTION FIVE
THE EARLIEST MENTION OF THE WAHHABI RELIGION AND BELIEFS IN IRANIAN SOURCES

A summary of circumstances of Abdul-Aziz, the shaykh of the Arabs—228
The mentioning of Abdul-Aziz, the first Wahhabi caliph and his son Sa'ud (*quoted from Abu Talib Khan Isfahani*)—234

SECTION SIX
THE CENTRE OF THE WAHHABI PROPAGATION

The land of Najd—240
The people of Najd—241
The state urbans and Bedouins of Najd close to the time of the Wahhabi Ideology—242
A summary of the attitudes, morals and social conditions of the Najd people—244

SECTION SEVEN
THE SA'UD DYNASTY

The beginning of the rule of Al Sa'ud—252
Muhammad bin Sa'ud—253
Abdul-Aziz Muhammad bin Sa'ud 1179 – 1218—255
Abdul-Aziz and the Sharif of Maccah—255
The reply the scholars of Maccah gave to the letter written by the scholars of Najd—258
Other measures Sa'ud took in Maccah and the return of Sharif Ghalib—263
The occupation of Medinah—264
The Wahhabi attack on Karbala and Najaf—265
The attack on Karbala—266
Husayn's ('a) treasury—270
The way the Ottomans view the Wahhabi attack on Karbala—271
The reasons for the victory of the Wahhabis in Karbala—274
The other Wahhabi attacks on Karbala—275
The Wahhabi attack on Karbala according to Iranian sources—276
The Wahhabi incident in Karbala—277
Mirza Muhammad Taqi Sipihr has written the following:—279
Wahhab's letter to Fath Ali Shah—280
Measures taken by Fath Ali Shah—282
The killing of Abdul-Aziz after the incident in Karbala—283
The Wahhabi attack on Najaf Al-Ashraf—284
The Wahhabi encounter with the Khaza'il tribe and their intensifying grudge and hatred towards Najaf—285
The first incident—285
The second incident and the defence the scholars and seminary students employed to protect the city—286
The explanation about Rahba—288
The great gathering that was formed in Karbala—290
Some explanation about the aforesaid matter—291
Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz 1218-1229—294
The start of the conflicts between Al Sa'ud and the Ottomans—295
The second attack—297

The Wahhabi attack on Muscat and the Imam of Muscat seeking help from Fath Ali Shah—298
Sa'ud's death—299
Sa'ud's son Prince Abdullah and the repeated attacks by the Ottomans—299
Prince Abdullah in Egypt and the story of the treasuries of the Prophet's (s) Shrine—301
The execution of Prince Abdullah—302
Destroying the city of Dir'iyyah and the deportation of Al Sa'ud and Al Shaykh to Egypt—302
Ibrahim Pasha entering Egypt and his surprising and bizarre arrogance—303
Sale of the Wahhabi captives—304
Re-establishing the government of Al Sa'ud—305
Prince Turki—306
Turki's son Faisal—307
Al Rashid—307
The new Turkish attack on Najd and Faisal's arrest and banishment—308
Faisal's escape from Egypt—309
Al Sa'ud government after Faisal up to the leadership of Abdul-Aziz bin Sa'ud—310
Abdul-Aziz bin Abd Al-Rahman, more well-known as Ibn Sa'ud—312
Abdul-Aziz's occupation of Riyadh—313
World War I and afterwards—315
Ibn Sa'ud and Sharif Husayn—316
The Sharifs of Maccah—316
Sharif Husayn—317
Sharif's dispute with the Ottomans and the Hejazi revolution—318
The start of the revolution and Sharif Husayn's leadership—320
Appointing the supreme judge and the head of the council of shaykhs—323
The caliphate of the Ottoman kings—324
The caliphate treasury and historical objects found today in the Topkapi Palace Museum—326
Sharif Husayn's government—329
Sharif Husayn and his caliphate—330
Ibn Sa'ud's attack on Hejaz—331
Giving the Sultanate to King Ali—332
The end of King Husayn—333
Ibn Sa'ud in Maccah—334
The discussion between the scholars of Najd and the scholars of Hejaz—334
The fall of Jeddah—335
The occupation of Medinah—336
Destroying the graves and Holy sites—336
Destroying the graves of the Baqi'—337
The reaction Iran and the other Islamic countries had to the graves being destroyed—338

The description of the graves of the Imams in the Baqi' before they were destroyed—339
Forming an Islamic society to determine what to do regarding the holy lands—344
The reason why Iran's representative did not take part—345
Ibn Sa'ud's leadership in Hejaz—345
Ibn Sa'ud and the Idrisis—346
The contract to extract oil—347
The naming—347
The story of Abu Talib Yazdi—348
Summary of the story related to Shaykh Hur 'Amili in Maccah, and the calamitous conspiracy that was carried out—351
Another case—352
The main cause of these events—353
Banning the Iranians from going to Hajj—357
Nadir Shah and the Sharif of Maccah—358
The pledge of the unification of Islam which was ordered to be drawn up by Nadir Shah—359
A few points related to the aforementioned topic—365
Conclusion—366
The death of King Abdul-Aziz—367
Some of Sa'ud's habits and characteristics—367
The government of Al Sa'ud after Ibn Sa'ud—369
The text of the oath was as follows:—369

SECTION EIGHT
JAMI'IYYAT AL-IKHWAN OR JAMI'IYYAT AL-AMIRIN BIL MA'RUF WA AL-NAHINA AN AL-MUNKAR

The problems that arose due to the formation of Jami'iyyat Al-Ikhwan—376
Ibn Sa'ud trying to find a solution—377
Some of the qualities and characters of the Ikhwan sect—377
The opposition with new inventions and the tearing of telephone wires—379
The faults the Ikhwan sect found with Ibn Sa'ud—383
The explanation of the camel-litters—386
Sending the camel-litter to Iran—388
How the camel-litters were around the time they were stopped from entering Maccah—388
Covering the Ka'bah, circumstances of the eunuchs and how the holy Ka'bah was washed and perfumed—389
The cloth over the Ka'bah—389
The covering of the Ka'bah in the Islamic era—390
The covering of the Ka'bah at present—392
The factory which prepared the Ka'bah's cloth—394
The servants and eunuchs—396

Washing inside the Ka'bah—397
The dispute between the Ikhwan sect and Ibn Sa'ud—398
Removing the Ikhwan disturbances—399
The words of Ahmad Amin—400

CONCLUSION The Wahhabi sect (Outside Najd and Hejaz)—403
In India—403
Sayyid Ahmad Hindi—404
Mowlavi Isma'il Dahlavi—406
Nathir Husayn—407
Sayyid Muhammad Sanussi (North Africa)—407
In Sudan—409
In Sumatra—410
In Egypt—411
In Marrakesh (Morocco)—412

BIBLIOGRAPHY—413

PREFACE

The invaluable legacy of the Household [Ahl Al-Bayt] of the Prophet (may peace be upon them all), as preserved by their followers, is a comprehensive school of thought that embraces all branches of Islamic knowledge. This school has produced many brilliant scholars who have drawn inspiration from this rich and pure resource. It has provided the Muslim ummah with many scholars whom, following in the footsteps of Im ms of the Prophet's Household (‘a), have done their best to clear up the doubts raised by various creeds and currents within and without Muslim society and to answer their questions. Throughout the past centuries, they have given well- reasoned answers and clarifications concerning these questions and doubts.

To meet the responsibilities assigned to it, the Ahl Al-Bayt World Assembly (ABWA) has embarked on a defense of the sanctity of the Islamic message and its verities, often obscured by the partisans of various sects and creeds as well as by currents hostile to Islam. The Assembly follows in the footsteps of the Ahl Al-Bayt (‘a) and the disciples of their school of thought in its readiness to confront these challenges and tries to be on the frontline in consonance with the demands of every age.

The arguments contained in the works of the scholars belonging to the School of the Ahl Al-Bayt (‘a) are of unique significance. That is because they are based on genuine scholarship and appeal to reason, and avoid prejudice and bias. These arguments address scholars and thinkers in a manner that appeals to healthy minds and wholesome human nature.

To assist the seekers of truth, the Ahl Al-Bayt World Assembly has endeavored to present a new phase of these arguments contained in the studies and translations of the works of contemporary Sh ‘ah

writers and those who have embraced this sublime school of thought through divine blessing.

The Assembly is also engaged in editing and publishing valuable works by leading Sh ‘ah scholars of earlier ages to assist the seekers of the truth in discovering the truths which the School of the Prophet’s Household (‘a) has offered to the entire world.

The Ahl Al-Bayt World Assembly looks forward to benefit from the opinions of the readers and their suggestions and constructive criticism in this area.

We also invite scholars, translators and other institutions to assist us in propagating the genuine Islamic teachings as preached by the Prophet Muhammad (s).

We beseech God, the Most High, to accept our humble efforts and to enable us to enhance them under the auspices of Imām Al-Mahdī, His vicegerent on the earth (may Allah expedite his advent).

We express our gratitude to Ali-Asghar Faqihi the author of the present book, and Sayyidah Zahra Mousavi Khalkhali, its translator. We also thank our colleagues who have participated in producing this work, especially the staff of the Translation Office.✍

Cultural Affairs Department

The Ahl Al-Bayt (‘a) World Assembly

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

I translated this book with the hope of serving Islam and Muslims around the world. I hope that it is accepted by God and that it pleases Imam Al-Mahdi ('a).

This book was originally written using very old Persian which has made its translation slightly more difficult. I have tried to translate this book as accurately as possible. Where I found it necessary to give an explanation or comment I have put the sign (*) and provided extra explanation or commentary. If you find any mistakes, please take the trouble to contact the publisher and I will remain forever indebted to you.

With thanks to my mother and father, who I owe everything to; my Husband, who supported and helped me every step of the way; and my special dear friends.

Thank you

Z. Mousavi

27/10/2008

INTRODUCTION

A few words

The book that is before the reader is a brief study about the history of the Wahhabis and their beliefs. Even though more than two hundred and fifty years have passed since this book came into existence, finding a Persian book about this sect is still rare.

The subjects of the book are divided into eight sections and a conclusion, which are as follow:

1. The founders of the Wahhabi sect
2. The beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah
3. Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, the leader of the Wahhabi sect
4. The beliefs of the Wahhabis
5. The earliest mentioning of the Wahhabi religion and beliefs in Iranian sources
6. The centre of the Wahhabi propagation
7. The Sa'udi dynasty
8. Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan

Conclusion: The Wahhabi sect outside Najd and Hejaz

All the subjects are supported by documents and sources, and most of the documents and sources (especially with regard to the Wahhabi beliefs) are the literary works of Wahhabi writers, from writers who are inclined to Wahhabism, or from literary works which are trustworthy and reliable in the opinion of the Wahhabis.

As much as was possible, I have tried to refer and rely on Wahhabi documents and sources with regard to Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs and Fatwas, which are the basis and the root of the Wahhabi beliefs (and also with regard to the beliefs and Fatwas of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who is the leader of the Wahhabi sect). The source of every

subject and matter is recorded in the footnote of the page. In addition, at the end of the book a bibliography is given. Even though the intention of writing this book was only to mention a brief account of the history of the Wahhabis and of their beliefs, in some matters it seemed necessary to give an explanation to eliminate any doubts or to make something clear. These explanations are given preceding the matter in question (the documents and sources of these explanations are also from the literary works of the Wahhabi scholars or are from literary works which the Wahhabis find reliable and trustworthy).

It is requested that the esteemed reader make clear any mistakes and weak points in the book that it may help and guide the author and make me indebted to him.

The 17th of Rabi'e al-Ula 1393
(the day of the birth of the Prophet -s-)
Corresponding to the 1st of Ordibehesht 1352
Ali Asghar Faqihi

SECTION ONE
The founders of the Wahhabi sect

How and from where did the Wahhabi beliefs arise, and why is the sect known by this name?

The first person who both introduced the Wahhabi beliefs and made extreme efforts to circulate them was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who was from the Najd scholars of the 12th century A.H. He shall be discussed later on in depth in the third section of this book.

It is important to note that, he was not the primary founder of the Wahhabi beliefs and that, centuries before him, these beliefs or parts of them were presented in different forms. However, at that time these beliefs had not yet formed into a new sect in Islam and did not have many followers.[1]

In the fourth century, a well-known Hanbali scholar called Abu Muhammad Barbahari forbade the visiting of graves. This ruling was strongly rejected, and objected to by the Abbasid caliph of that time.

Moreover, Abd Al-Allah bin Muhammad Ukbari, who was among the scholars of the Hanbali sect and who was also known as Ibn Battuta and died in 387 A.H., renounced visitation (*ziyarah*)[2] and the intercession of the holy Prophet (s).[3] He believed that travelling to the

---

1. The Wahhabis themselves do not accept that their faith or sect was recently formed. They say that their sect is the religion of the devout ancestors (*Salaf Salih*) and they name themselves Salafia for this reason.
2. Visitation here refers to the visiting of the grave of the holy Prophet (s).
3. The life of Ibn Baddeh is mentioned in the books:
   - *Al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Umam* by Ibn Jawzi in the section of deaths in 387.
   - Ansab Samaani, where he states that the two words Baddi and Ukbari originate from an area around 62.4 km from Baghdad.
   - *Tarikh Baghdad* (*History of Baghdad*), vol. 10, p. 371; Khatib Baghdadi has mentioned his faults and Ibn Jawzi has responded to them in *Al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Umam*, vol. 7, p. 193.

Prophet's (s) grave was a sin and, as a result, the prayers on this trip must be prayed complete (*kamil*) and that praying the prayers of a traveller (*qasr*) was not permissible.[1] He was also of the view that whoever believed travelling to visit the Prophets and pious men's graves to be an act of worship (in that they believed it to be a good deed that Allah would reward them for), had beliefs contrary to the beliefs of the Prophet (s) and against the beliefs of many Muslims.[2]

Furthermore Ibn Taymiyyah, who was one of the greatest Hanbali scholars of the 7th and 8th century, influenced Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab regarding his most important beliefs.

Several of Ibn Taymiyyah's students, tried eminently to propagate the views and beliefs of their head scholar. Ibn Taymiyyah's most famous student was Ibn Qayyim Jawziyyeh, who also spared no efforts to propagate Ibn Taymiyyah's views and beliefs.

Sheik Muhammad bin Abd-Al-Wahhab's most employed stance was to voice his beliefs and views and then revolt along with his followers, accompanied by a few Najd princes. By doing this he created a sect which was different from the four Islamic sects. Its dissimilarity with the Shi'ah sect was greater than the other sects, and it was most similar to the Hanbali sect.

The name Wahhabi

The name Wahhabi comes from the primary founder of the Wahhabi sect, Abd Al-Wahhab. However, the Wahhabis themselves claim that this is incorrect and the name comes from elsewhere.

Sayyid Mahmud Shukri Alusi (who is of the supporters of Wahhabism) says, "The name Wahhabi has been incorrectly attributed to them by their enemies and is wrong, and they must be attributed to Muhammad (s) who is their leader. They should be referred to as the Muhammadia sect because Prophet Muhammad (s) invited his people to believe in the same beliefs that they believe in. Furthermore,

1. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Akhna'i* written by ibn Taymiyyah, p. 27).
2. Ibid, p. 30.

Shaykh Abd Al-Wahhab disagreed with his son about these beliefs.[1]" There were arguments and discussions between father and son, so how is it possible to attribute a sect to someone who opposes it himself?

Saleh bin Dakhil Najdi wrote a letter to the *Al-Muqtataf* magazine, claiming that: "The attribution of the Wahhabia to their primary founder (Abd Al-Wahhab) by his contemporaries is because of their jealousy and spitefulness. The reason they did this was to portray the Wahhabis as innovators of religion and a misled sect. Furthermore, the reason behind not naming the sect after the shaykh's first name (Muhammadia) is so that they are not recognised as having consistent beliefs with the Prophet (s)."[2]

Ahmad Amin the famous Egyptian writer says that "Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and his followers call themselves United Ones (*Mowahadin*), and say that the name Wahhabi was attributed to them by their enemies. Therefore it has now become the name that the people recognise them by."[3]

Before explaining the beliefs of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, it is necessary to first explain the Salafia or Salafiyun, who seem to be the main founders of the Wahhabi sect. Then it is necessary to provide details regarding the views of Barbahari, Ibn Taymiyyah and Shammai, which have formed the basis of the Wahhabi beliefs.

Salafia[4] or Salafiyun

The Salafia were a group of followers, belonging to the Hanbali sect, who first formed in the 4th century A.H. They attributed their beliefs to Ahmad Hanbal though several Hanbali scholars disputed with the Salafia group for claiming this attribution.

At that time, intense arguments and disputes arose between the Salafiyun and the Ash'ari, and each of these two groups claimed that they invited people to the correct and good Salafi faith.

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1. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 111. Apart from Shaykh Abd Al-Wahhab, who was Shaykh Muhammad's father, his brother Shaykh Sulayman also severely opposed his beliefs. We shall explain this later.
2. *Da 'iratal Ma'arif*, Farid Wajdi, vol. 10, p. 871, quoted from the *Al-Moqtataf* magazine, p. 893.
3. *Zu'ama Al-Islah fi al-Asr al-Hadith*, p. 10.
4. *Salafia comes from the word Salaf, which means devout ancestors.

The Salafia disagreed with the method the Mu'tazillah sect used. This was because the Mu'tazillah sect explained and expressed their Islamic beliefs using the method used by philosophers, who based their method on Greek logic. The Salafia wanted to express Islamic beliefs in the same way they were expressed at the time of the companions of the Prophet (s) (*Sahabah*) and the followers of the Prophet (s). This means that one should only refer to the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions (*Sunnah*) when one wants to learn something concerning Islamic beliefs. They also believed that scholars should be banned from using intellectual reasoning other than that which was given in the Qur'an.

Since modern intellectual reasoning and logic were not present during the time of the companions of the Prophet (s), the Salafiyun believed that it was an innovation in Islam and therefore rejected it. They only believed in the Qur'anic text, Prophetic narrations (*Hadith*), and intellectual reasoning that arose from these texts. They believed that if one wished to study intellectual reasoning, Islamic theology or Islamic law, there was no way to do it other than using the Qur'an and traditions based on the Qur'an.

The Salafia like other Islamic groups and sects, believe Unity of God (*tawhid*) is the main and first principle of Islam; however, they believe there are matters that are inconsistent with this principle. The Salafia believe that the following actions are inconsistent with the Unity of God (*tawhid*): to approach God using one of His creations as an intermediary (*tawassul*), to stand in front of the Prophet's (s) grave during visitations or any other time, to read poems around the shrine and to call God while standing in front of one of the shrines of the Prophets or friends of God (*Awliyya' Allah*).[1] They are also of the opinion that to believe that the aforesaid matters are inconsistent with *tawhid* is the belief of the Salaf Salih[2] and that these matters are innovations which damage the true meaning of *tawhid*.

1. Pious and learned men that have high status in religion due to their worship and, as such, are very close to Allah.
2. Devout ancestors.

Positive Attributes (*Sefaat Thobootia*) and Negative Attributes (*Sefaat Salbia*) [1]

The Salafia claim that the difference of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the Positive Attributes (*Sefaat Thobootia*) and Negative Attributes (*Sefaat Salbia*) of God, is merely a difference in thought and opinion and not a difference in the truth and principle of this belief, and this matter must not lead different Islamic groups to call each other unbelievers. The Salafia themselves (contrary to their successors) did not call people who have opposing beliefs to them unbelievers or blasphemers.

Regarding the Attributes of God, they take a literal approach to the Qur'an and Prophetic narrations. Due to this literal approach, they believe that Allah can love and hate, feel content and discontent and make a proclamation and speak. They also believe that He can descend to the shadows of the clouds to be among the people, sits on a throne and has a face and hands (though they believe His bodily parts are unlike His creation's body parts). They reject any form of interpretation and consider the apparent meaning the only correct and acceptable meaning.

The story of Barbahari

Abu Muhammad Hasan bin Ali bin Khalaf Barbahari, who was the head of the Hanbali sect in Baghdad, had particular views and he dealt severely with whoever disagreed with his views. He would force his followers to deal harshly with people and he would even tell them to enter people's homes by force and steal goods from them. Barbahari also told his followers to inconvenience people while they were buying and selling goods and to frighten anyone who did not accept their views.

One of the things that Barbahari did was to ban the narration of the tragedies of Imam Husayn ('a) and the visiting of his shrine in

1. The positive and privative or negative attributes of Allah, the first of which refer to qualities which can be attributed to God, such as All-Knowing and All-Powerful, and the latter which refer to those qualities which cannot be attributed to Him, such as weakness, ignorance and having gender.

Karbala. He also ordered the people who read out these narrations to be killed.

There was a man called Khilb who was such a narrator and who read out his narrations skilfully with a pleasant voice. He would read this poem:

"اَیها العینان فِیضا وَ استَهَلا لا تَغیضا"

Tanukhi says, "We heard this poem in the house of one of the leaders at that time." At that time due to fear of the Hanbalis, people did not have the courage to recite the tragedies of Imam Husayn (‘a). The narrations were either read out secretly or under the protection of the Sultan. The narrations that were read out were only for Imam Husayn (‘a) and the Ahl al-Bayt,[1] and the narrators would not in any way attack the Salafiyya beliefs. However, when Barbahari found out about this matter, he ordered that the narrator be found and killed.

The Hanbalis at that time had great influence in Baghdad and they repeatedly caused seditions. One of their seditions was the attack upon Muhammad bin Jarir Tabari Sahib Tarikh. The story is as follows:

On Tabari's second journey from Tabarestan to Baghdad, one Friday in the central mosque, the Hanbalis asked him for his view on the idea that God sits on a throne and also what he thought of Ahmad Hanbal. He answered: "The disagreements in Islamic beliefs by Ahmad Hanbal are not counted and considered." The Hanbalis said that "The scholars have considered his opposing views." Tabari answered, "I have neither seen him nor one of his trustworthy followers for it to be possible for me to have heard his views. Nonetheless, the idea that God sits on a throne, is an impossible matter."

When the Hanbalis and the people that narrated beliefs from different scholars, heard this from Tabari they attacked him and threw their ink pots at him. He helplessly ran away to his house. Around a thousand Hanbalis gathered around his house and stoned it in such a way that a large pile of stones was left before his house.

Nazuk, who was the head of the police force in Baghdad, and who was accompanied by 1000 military men saved Tabari from the

1. The household of the Prophet (s).

injustice being carried out against him. Nazuk stayed at Tabari's house for one whole day and ordered the stones in front of his house to be removed.

Writers from the Hanbali sect, such as Ibn Kathir and Ibn 'Imad, have written about Barbahari. Great exaggeration is used in some of their written work. For example, Ibn Kathir calls Barbahari a preacher, pious man and a jurisprudent (*faqih*),[1] and says that "Barbahari refused to take his inheritance which amounted to seventy thousand drachmas (according to Ibn 'Imad, 90 thousand drachmas) because of a doubt and suspicion that he had."

Ibn Kathir has also written that "Barbahari was treated with great respect both in public and in private. One day while he was preaching, he sneezed. All those who were present there said: "يرحَمُکَ اللهُ"[2] together for him. The voices of these people reached the streets and the bazaar. Whoever heard also said "يرحَمُکَ اللهُ", such that all the people of Baghdad said this sentence. Their voices reached the caliph's castle, who got very upset when he heard them. Furthermore, a group of people slandered him, and this resulted in the caliph deciding to arrest him. It was for this reason (*i.e. due to his fear of being arrested) that Barbahari fled to an unknown destination, where he passed away a month later."[3]

However, the truth is, the main reason the caliph ordered him to be imprisoned was because of the views and opinions he expressed, which were against the views and beliefs of the majority of the people. This was the reason why the caliph gave his famous order, which we will discuss later.

Abu Ali Muskuyeh explains the incidents that took place in 323 A.H. and says, "In this year Badr al-Kharshani (also known as Sahib Shurdha) read out a proclamation on both sides of Baghdad, which stated that the followers of Barbahari[4] Hanbali, should not group

1. An expert and scholar in Islamic laws.
2. May God have mercy on you.
3. *Al-Bidayeh wa Al-Nihayah*, vol. 11 p. 201.
4. The name Barbahari is in relation to the word Barbahar, which is a medicine such as Hashish (a drug made from Indian hemp), Agagier (medicinal plant) and Foloos and others which are brought from India. (Quoted from the book *Madeh Barbahari* written by Samaani).

together anywhere and that it was forbidden to do so. He imprisoned a group of his followers who were called Badr, and Barbahari himself fled to an unknown destination and hid. The reason such measures were taken is that Barbahari and his followers constantly caused disturbances and rebellion. Therefore, the caliph at that time, who was called Al-Radhi, issued a ruling. This ruling stated that some of the actions and beliefs of Barbahri's subjects, such as calling the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (s) blasphemers and a misled sect and renouncing the visitation of the graves of religious leaders, were wrong. He then attacked them and threatened them with this ruling by saying that if they did not stop their actions he would cut their throats and burn their houses and their neighbourhoods."[1]

Ibn Athir says the following with regard to the Hanbali sedition in Baghdad: "In this year (323 A.H.), the Hanbali rebellion grew and as a result they gained power. Badr al-Kharshani, issued a ruling and order on the 10th of Jumada Al-Akhir, and it was announced on both sides of Baghdad. This ruling stated that the followers of Barbahari do not have the right to group and discuss their beliefs and that their congregational prayer leader (*Imam jama'a*)[2] must read his Bismillah[3] aloud and clear in his morning and two night prayers (*Maghrib and 'Isha*). The measures that Sahib Shurdha took were not beneficial and resulted in the increase of the rebelliousness of the Barbahari followers. An example of this seditiousness is that they would make the blind people who lived in the mosque attack every Shafi'i follower, who entered the mosque. At times the attacks were so severe that it nearly reached fatality."

After Ibn Athir explains the ruling of the caliph, which was read out to the Hanbalis, he continues and says, "The caliph, who was called Al-Radhi, severely reprimanded Barbahari's companions and harshly threatened them because they claimed that God resembled material matter and they imagined and believed that God had hands, fingers,

1. *Tajarub Al-Umam*, vol. 5 p. 322. The decree of the caliph is written in this book. What one finds from reading the explanation of the caliph, is that the followers of Barbahari, would order the *ziyarah* of the grave of a common man, who had no relation to the Prophet (s), even though they believed that visiting the graves of the Imams is an innovation in religion.
2. Congregational prayers.
3. In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.

two feet with golden shoes and hair. They would say that God ascends to the skies and descends to the earth. Also they would insult and taunt the chosen ones amongst the Imams (chosen for their good deeds and piety), and they would accuse the Shi'ah[1] of the family (*Ahl al-Bayt*) of the Prophet (s) of being blasphemous and a misled sect. In addition, they would invite Muslims to innovations (in the religion) and indecent actions, which were not mentioned in the Qur'an. Furthermore, they forbade the visiting of the graves of the Imams and they believed that visiting graves was an ugly and obscene act."[2]

Barbahari died at the age of 96 in 329 A.H. He died while he was hiding in an unknown lady's house. They secretly gave him his ritual bath of death (*ghusl al-mayyit*), shrouded him (*kafan*), and buried him there (*in the lady's house).[3]

However Ibn Athir says, "In 329 A.H., the head of the Hanbali sect died at the age of 76 while he was in hiding, and he was buried in the lands of Nasr Gashuri."[4]

Notice that the views of Barbahari, which were mentioned in the caliph's decree, are in part similar to those which Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab expressed later on.

A short account of the views and beliefs of Barbahari

Apart from the matter of visiting graves and a few other matters that have been mentioned, Barbahari also held other peculiar beliefs. We will mention a few of these, which have been quoted by Ibn 'Imad Hanbali:

"In his description of the book Al-Sunnah, Barbahari has said: If you hear the words of a person who is reliable and if what he says is

1. Followers.
2. *Al-Kamil*, vol. 6, p. 248. In the text of the decree of the caliph, the caliph spoke about the views of the followers of Barbahari regarding God, both in detail and briefly. Ibn Athir explains the caliph's words, as you observed in the above text. Abul-Fedaa also gives an account of the caliph's order and command, which is as follows: "You think that your ugly faces are similar to God's face, and that the way you look is similar to God, and you say that God has curly afro-like hair, and you say that God ascends to the skies". *Tarikh*, p. 103, vol. 2.
3. *Al-Muntazam*, Ibn Jawzi, vol. 6, p. 32.
4. *Al-Kamil*, vol. 6, p. 282.

guaranteed to be true, don't accept his words in a hurry. Wait until you find out if there is anything related to those words from one of the Sahabah of the Prophet (s) or one of the Islamic Scholars. If the Sahabah of the Prophet (s) or the scholars agree with these words, only then may you believe in them. Accept it and nothing else and do not add anything from yourself to it as you will fall into hell fire.

Know that there have been new and recent views with regard to God and they are an innovation in religion and misleading. How God has described himself in the Qur'an or what the Prophet (s) has explained to his companions about God is the only permissible way of describing God, no other way.

It is a must to believe that people will see God with their physical eyes on the Day of Judgement, and that the servants of God will be accounted for their deeds directly by God without a middle-person, a chamberlain or a translator.

We must also have faith in the matter that the Prophet (s) has a pool on the Day of Judgement, and each one of the Prophets also have a pool, except for Prophet Saleh ('a) whose pool is the breasts of his she-camel.

In addition, we must have faith that the Prophet (s) will intercede on behalf of the sinners on the *Serat*[1] on the Day of Judgement, and he will free them. We must also believe that the truthful ones, martyrs and pious also have the right to intercede for others.

Furthermore, we have to believe that heaven and hell have been created and that heaven is in the seventh sky and the ceiling of heaven is the highest point of the world, and that hell is under the seventh layer of the ground.

Moreover, we must believe that Prophet Jesus ('a) will come down from the skies and will kill Dajjal[2]. He will marry and will pray behind the saviour from the Prophet's family (*Qaa'im Al Muhammad*)[3] and then will pass away. Whoever escorts the corpse of

1. The bridge which only the righteous can cross on the road to Paradise.
2. Epithet of the Islamic Antichrist.
3. Title of the saviour who will come from among the decendents of Prophet Muhammad (s).

an innovator of religion shall become the enemy of God upon his return.…"[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah (661-728)

Abul-Abbas Ahmad bin Abd Al-Halim Harrani, A.K.A Ibn Taymiyyah, is considered one of the greatest Hanbali scholars of the seventh and eighth century. He was constantly opposed by other scholars due to his beliefs widely differing from the beliefs of the majority of the Islamic sects. As a result, he spent some time in prison under torture. His are the views that would later form the foundation of the Wahhabism.

Ibn Taymiyyah's supporters and those that opposed him have both written about his life, and each one of these writers has described him according to their own views. A group of scholars have written books and theses rejecting his views. Some of these works are still accessible. Ibn Kathir in his book *Al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah*, Umar bin Al-Wardi in his book *Tarikh* and Salah Al-Din Safdi in his book *Al-Wafi Bil Wafiyyat* are amongst three of the earliest writers who have written about Ibn Taymiyyah's life in detail. They have glorified him a great deal and have tried hard to plant the seed of his beliefs among the people. Ibn Shakir Kutbi has also praised him in his book *Fawaat Al-Wafiyyat* and so has Dhahabi in his book *Tadhkirat al-Huffàz*.[2]

However, based on what Hajj Khalifa says in his book *Kashf Al-Dhunun*, the following people have turned down Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs and have criticised him severely: Ibn Battuta in his travelogue *Tuhfat al-Nuzzar*, Abdullah Ibn Asad Yafei in his book *Mirat al-Jinan*, Taqi Al-Din Subki (eighth century scholar) in his books *Shifa' al-Siqam fi Ziyarah Khayr al-Anam* and *Durrat al-Mudiyya fi al-Radd*

1. Summary from the book *Shatharat Al-Thahab* by Ibn 'Imad, vol. 2, p. 320-321.
2. Referring to the text of a letter that the late Allamah Amini has mentioned in his book *Al-Ghadir*, vol. 5, p. 87), Dhahbi had advised Ibn Taymiyyah to change his opinions because of the views he expressed in this letter which caused disputes between the Muslims. What is apparent from Dhahbis written work is that he did not have a favorable view of Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs, and in the appendix of his book *Al-E'bar* he explained Ibn Taymiyyah's views on '*Aqaid Wasediyyah* (Wasediyyah belief), which had caused disputes between scholars and himself, as being a conspiracy, p. 30).

ala Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Hajar Maki in his books *Jowhar Al-Munazzam fi Ziyarah al-Qabr al-Sharif al-Nabawi al-Mukarram* and *Al-Durur al-Kamina fi A'yan al-Mi'at al-Thamina,* 'Iz Al-Din bin Jamaa, Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi and Kamal Al-Din Zamlakni[1] in his book *Al-Duratu Al-Mudhiyya fi al-Radd ala Ibn Taymiyyah.* A few others and Qadhi Ekhnayi[2] (one of the contemporaries of Ibn Taymiyyah) in his book *Al-Maqala Al-Mardhiyyeh*, have also severely renounced his beliefs and opposed his views.[3]

During the time when Ibn Taymiyyah rejected belief in seeking help (*estighathah*)[4], one of his contemporaries, a scholar by the name of Ali bin Ya'qub Bakri[5], wrote a book about this. In this book he stated that imploring the Prophet (s) for any matter that one would implore God for is permissible. Ibn Taymiyyah then compiled a book, which is now available, rejecting these views.[6]

Shaykh Shahab Al-Din bin Juhbul (Shafi'i), who died in 733, is another contemporary of Ibn Taymiyyah who wrote a strongly grounded thesis rejecting Ibn Taymiyyah's views regarding *ithbat jahat*[7] in relation to God.[8]

Ibn Taymiyyah's supporters claim that because of his profound knowledge of science, great skill in Qur'anic texts and Prophetic narrations (*hadith*), and high esteem before the kings and princes, other scholars became jealous, so they accused him of blasphemy.

Those who oppose Ibn Taymiyyah say that the views he expressed were different from the majority of Muslims. They say that his belief

1. Subki who died in 727 said, "Zamlakni has written a book rejecting the views of Ibn Taymiyyah on the matters of divorce and Ziyarah (*pilgrimage or visiting of graves)", *Tabaqat Al-Shafe'iyyah*, vol. 9, p. 191.
2. Ekhnaa is the name of an old city in Egypt.
3. *Risalat Al-'Aqida Al-Wasitiyyah,* Ibn Taymiyyah's views have been objected to by his contemporaries. He has replied to their objections in his thesis "Al-Monadhara fi al-Aageda Al-Wasedeya", *Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il,* vol. 1, p. 415 onwards.
4. Supplication/imploration for help.
5. He died in 724.
6. *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 230.
7. Proof of direction: the attempt to prove that God exists in a particular direction
8. The text of the thesis mentioned above is quoted by Subki in his book *Tabaqat al-Shafe'iyyah,* vol. 9, p. 35.

in the (physical) visibility of God, *ithbat jahat* in relation to Him, and the fact that he forbade the visiting of the graves of the friends of God (*Awliyya' Allah*) and leaders of religion and other matters similar to these, were not the beliefs of the majority of Muslims.

More recent writers have also given an account of Ibn Taymiyyah, some of which support him while others oppose him. Among the books translated into Persian, Danshoran's book gives a detailed account of Ibn Taymiyyah's life.

In recent times Muhammad Abu Zuhreh, a well-known Arab writer, has written an articulate book by the name of *Ibn Taymiyyah Hayatuhu wa 'Asruhu wa Ara'uhu wa Fiqhuhu*. In addition to his articulate and precise account of Ibn Taymiyyah's life, he has also analysed his beliefs, his views and his literary works.

Abu Al-Hasan Ali Al-Hasani Al-Nnadaway is an Indian scholar, who has also written a book by the name of *Khason Bihayati Shaykh Al-Islam Al-Hafidh Ahmad bin Taymiyyah*. This book was compiled in 1376 A.H. and was translated into Arabic by another scholar called Sa'id Al-Adhma Al-Nnadaway. This book explains Ibn Taymiyyah's views and beliefs and gives an account of his life. It was published in Kuwait in 1395 A.H.

Another writer called Muhammad Bahjat Al-Baydaar has written a book called *Hayaat Shaykh Al-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah*, which was published in Lebanon in 1392 A.H.

The following is a summary of the life of Ibn Taymiyyah based on a variety of sources

He was born in 661 A.H in Rabi' al-Ula in Herran (the centre of the Mudhar region on the boundaries of Iraq). His father was one of the greatest Hanbali scholars, who had fled to Sham because of the oppression of the Mogul tribe. Ibn Taymiyyah lost his father at the age of 20, and so he took his father's place and became in charge of teaching. He went to Hajj[1] in 691.

A few years later, while he was living in Cairo, he gave a verdict (*fatwa*) regarding the attributes of God, which led to great opposition

1. Greater pilgrimage to Maccah.

from the scholars of the time. As a result, he was denied the right to teach. He spoke about Sayyida Nafisa (one of the children of Imam Husayn who is respected a great deal by the Egyptians) in such a way that it caused the common people to turn away from him.[1]

At this time, he went to Damascus because he was ordered to stir the people to go to war against the Moguls. He also took part in several battles.

In 699, he took severe action against Ghazan Khan Moghol and stirred the people to fight against the Mogul army that had then reached Damascus.[2]

Ibn Taymiyyah meets Ghazan Khan Moghol

The people in the city felt they were in danger because Ghazan Khan Moghol was approaching Damascus. At noon on Saturday the first day of Rabi' Al-Akhar in 699, great cries and screams arose from the city. Ladies came out of their houses unveiled and men left their shops. The people sent Qadhi Al-Qodhat, Shaykh Taqi Al-Din bin Taymiyyah, Sharif Zayn Al-Din[3] and a large number of nobles and jurisprudents (*faqihs*) to request security and safety from Ghazan. These representatives met Ghazan in an area called Bonk. When they met him he was on his horse and they all dismounted in front of him and a few of them kissed the ground. Ghazan stopped and a group of his companions got off their horses. The representatives of the people, using the help of a translator, requested security from Ghazan and offered him some food as a present. Ghazan took no notice of them but accepted their request.[4]

Another instance where Ibn Taymiyyah met the Moghuls was when the Moguls had returned to Damascus along with many prisoners after they had plundered the surrounding regions and after they had reached

1. *Safadi*, vol. 7, p. 19.
2. *Ibn Shakir*, vol. 1, p. 72.
3. Here we mean Sharif Zeyn Al-Din Qumi, who was previously sent by Ghazan Khan along with three others to Damascus. (Also, vol. 1, sec. 3, p. 890.)
4. Maqrizi in *Al-Suluk*, vol. 1, from sec. 3 p. 889.

Bayt al-Muqaddas[1]. Ibn Taymiyyah went to the Moghuls to talk about freeing the prisoners, and this resulted in the prisoners being freed.[2]

After the Moguls left Damascus, the Prince of Arjowaas seized it. Later with the help of Ibn Taymiyyah, he eliminated unlawful acts that the Moguls had established. He closed taverns, poured out all the alcohol on the ground and broke all alcoholic containers.[3]

Views that were objected to

The first time the views of Ibn Taymiyyah were renounced was in 698 in Rabi' Al-Awwal. This was when a group of jurisprudents (*faqih*) rose against Ibn Taymiyyah and debated and questioned his verdict (*fatwa*) regarding the attributes of God in his thesis by the name of "Hamawiyyah." They then prohibited him from giving views on this topic.[4]

According to Safadi, "In Rabi' al-Ula in 698, a group of Shafi'i scholars rose against Ibn Taymiyyah and renounced his views regarding the attributes of God and rejected his verdict (*fatwa*) given in his Hamawiyyah thesis. After they organised a session of debate with him, the town crier in Damascus proclaimed that the belief given in the Hamawiyyah thesis is wrong. They then banned Ibn Taymiyyah from speaking about or giving views on this topic."[5]

Then by the order of the Maleki judge, they took him from the site of the debate to prison. When the Maleki judge found out that in prison people were going to meet Ibn Taymiyyah, he said that they should be hard on him because his blasphemy had become apparent.

On the eve of Eid Al-Fitr, they transferred him to a tower where he was imprisoned in a pit, and they gave a proclamation stating that it was permissible to spill the blood and plunder the property of whoever held the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah, especially if they were from the Hanbali sect. This order of the sultan was also read out to the people

1. Jerusalem.
2. *Al-Suluk*, p. 896.
3. Ibid, p. 900.
4. *Al-Durar al-Kamina*, vol. 1, p. 155.
5. *Al-Waafi Bil Wafiyyaat*, vol. 7, p. 22. The Hamawiyya thesis will be discussed later when we discuss the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah.

in the central mosque by Ibn Al-Shehab Mahmud. Afterwards all the Hanbalis were collected and, in front of a group of people, they confessed and bore witness that they were the followers of the Shafi'i sect.[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah was imprisoned in the pit until Muhanna, the prince of the Fadhl household, interceded for him on the 23rd of Rabi' al-Ula and he was freed from prison. Then a debate took place between him and the scholars in the Al-Jabal fort. This resulted in a confession being written down, which said that Ibn Taymiyyah identified himself as a part of the Ash'ari sect. A paper has been found which has been written with his (Ibn Taymiyyah's) handwriting saying that: "What I believe is that the Qur'an is meaning, self-existent from God and that is a quality, which is of the old attributes of His Essence (*Sefaat Dhaat Qadimi*) and that the Qur'an is not created and is not letters and sound. The meaning of the verse:

﴿ٱلرَّحۡمَـٰنُ على ٱلۡعَرۡشِ ٱسۡتَوَىٰ﴾[2]

is not the literal meaning, and I do not know the true meaning of it, and perhaps apart from God, nobody else does. My saying about the descending (the descending of God from the skies or Arsh) is the same as what I said about the equator (an equator on the Arsh)." At the end of the paper it was written: "كتبه احمد بن تيميه" (*written by Ahmad Taymiyyah). Afterwards the scholars present in the gathering, bore witness that on the 25th of Rabi' al-Ula in 707, Ibn Taymiyyah asked for forgiveness for everything apart from the aforesaid matters."[3]

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1. Ibn Hajar, vol. 1, p. 157. Where Dhahabi gives an account of the events that took place in 705, he says, "In this year Ibn Taymiyyah's sedition occurred. This was due to his belief on *'Aqida Al-Waasadiyyah* (Waasadiyyah belief), which provoked some to support him and some to oppose him. In three sessions, they read out the beliefs on *'Aqida Al-Waasadiyyah* (Waasadiyyah belief). In the end they sent him to Egypt, and there due to the *fatwa* of the Maleki judge, he was thrown in prison with his brothers. Afterwards Ibn Taymiyyah was banished to Alexandria. His claim that God physically sits on a throne and that He has speech similar to that of His creations (i.e. through physical vibrations in air particles) was problematic in Eygpt. Afterwards they proclaimed in Damascus and other areas that it was permissible to spill the blood and plunder the property of anyone who held the same beliefs as Ibn Taymiyyah (*Dhayl Al-'Ibar*, p. 30-31).

2. Surah Ta Ha, verse 5: ***"-the All-beneficent, settled on the Throne."***

3. Ibn Hajar, vol. 1, p. 158.

The above was what Ibn Hajar has said. However Ibn Al-Wardi has said, "For several years he did not pass a verdict (*fatwa*) based on any of the scholars of thought; rather, he would use his own analogy as the basis of his verdicts. He expressed views which the past and contemporary scholars refrained from expressing. Due to this the scholars of Egypt and Syria rose against him severely and quarrelled, disputed and had discussions with him, but he expressed his opinions without fear and without giving in."[1]

On Sha'ban in 726, the scholars rose in opposition against Ibn Taymiyyah regarding the matter of visitation (*ziyarah*)[2]. Ibn Taymiyyah had said that it was prohibited to travel with the intention of doing visitation of the Prophets. A group of scholars have written that because the result of this prohibition is to bring down the status of Prophethood, the person who expresses these beliefs is a disbeliever. Another group of scholars passed a verdict (*fatwa*) stating that Ibn Taymiyyah made a mistake in his verdict and this mistake is of the type which is forgivable, and that this matter has gradually grown in importance and greatness. Ibn Taymiyyah was returned to the prison tower (Al-Jabal tower) and stayed there for a total of 20 months and several days. He was forbidden from studying and they did not leave any paper or pens next to him.[3]

Ibn Taymiyyah would talk like a philosopher when sitting on the pulpit [4] and would deliver hour-long speeches concerning matters from the book (Qur'an), Sunnah, terminology, and so forth, which other people did not even have the strength to deliver in several sessions. It was as if all science was laid before him and he could pick and choose however much he wanted. Because of this, his companions exaggerated about him and he became self-conceited and arrogant. This resulted in him thinking he had a higher status than the other scholars and thinking that he was a *mujtahid*[5]. He would find fault in big, small, old, and contemporary scholars and found 'Umar a

1. *Tarikh Ibn Al-Wardi*, vol. 2, p. 410.
2. The visiting of a grave.
3. *Tarikh Ibn Al-Wardi.* vol. 2, p. 412-413, Ibn Taghri Bardi says: "Ibn Taymiyyah was forbidden from studying in prison and no book, pen (engraving chisel), ink or paper was left next to him". vol. 9, p. 272.
4. A raised wooden structure on which a preacher sits.
5. A clergyman of high status practicing religious jurisprudence.

wrongdoer on one occasion, and when they told Ibrahim Raqqi of this, Ibrahim Raqqi denied it and thought it was obscene. However, Ibn Taymiyyah went to him (Raqqi) and apologised and sought forgiveness of God.

Ibn Taymiyyah also found fault with Ali (‘a) on 17 occasions. Because of his bias towards the Hanbali sect, he spoke badly of the Asha'ira and even insulted Ghazali, and so a group of people rose against him and were close to killing him.[1]

There was division amongst the people regarding Ibn Taymiyyah. Some claimed that in his expression of the Wasidiyyah and Hamawiyyah beliefs, he had claimed that God has a physical body and had said that He has legs, hands and a face, and that he believes these are His real attributes (*Sefaat Haqiqi*), and that he believes God sits on a throne. Another group thought he was a disbeliever due to his degrading of the Prophet (s) by denying the permissibility of seeking him as an intermediary. One group also called him a hypocrite because he made an insulting remark about Ali (‘a). They based this on a Prophetic narration which says, “None holds enmity towards you (oh Ali) except the hypocrite.” Ibn Taymiyyah considered ‘Uthman to be a man that loved wealth and he made similar remarks regarding Abu Bakr.[2]

We must note that Ibn Hajar pointed out the Prophetic narration below in his speech. It is narrated in *Sahih Muslim* from Abu Mu’awiyyah, who has quoted it from Aa’mash, who has quoted it from ‘Udayy bin Thabit, who has quoted it from Zarr, who has quoted it from Ali (‘a), and it says:

"وَالذِي فَلَقَ الحَبّةَ وَ بَرأ النّسَمَةَ أنّهُ لَعَهدِ النَبِّي إلى اَن لا يُحِبّنِى اِلا مُومِن وَ لا يبغُضني اِلا مُنافِق".

“I swear to God who split the seed and created the human, the holy Prophet (s) told me of his testament and said that none other than a

1. Ibn Hajar. vol. 1, p. 164. Ibn Taymiyyah also attacked Muhii Al-Din ibn Arabi and Ibn Faridh and has severely opposed Sufism. He fought against the Motaklimeen sect and the followers of the Greek philosophy particularly Ibn Sina and Ibn Sabaaeen.
2. Ibn Hajar, vol. 1, a summary of pp. 165-166.

believer shall love you and none shall hold enmity towards you except the hypocrite."[1]

Yafa'ei says, "Ibn Taymiyyah had expressed views on strange matters, which were against the views of the Sunni sect, and that is why he was imprisoned. The most obscene matters were prohibiting the visitation (*ziyarah*) of the grave of the Prophet (s) and taunting the Sufi Shaykhs such as Hojjatol-Islam Abi Hamid Ghazali, Abu Al-Qasem Qushayri, Ibn 'Arif, Shaykh Abu Al-Hasan Shatheli and others."[2]

The method Ibn Taymiyyah used in discussions

What is apparent is that, Ibn Taymiyyah spoke in the Avari language in discussions. He would jump from one subject to another and would change the topic so that he could give less of an opportunity for his opponent to speak and, for this reason, only people who could stand firm against him and not be frightened by his way of talking were chosen to discuss with him. Taj Al-Din Subki said, "After the discussion session in relation to the matter of Hamawiyyah was held (the *fatwa* of Ibn Taymiyyah about *ithbat jahat* (*proof of Jahat)) at Dar Al-Sa'ada and in the presence of the Prince Tangoz, the scholars who were present requested the Prince to allow Shaykh Safi Al-Din Urmawi, who was skilled in assertively speaking and concentrating on all the aspects of the subject and who left no doubts when he stated a matter, to attend.

Shaykh Safi Al-Din Urmawi attended the meeting and spoke assertively. Ibn Taymiyyah in conformity with his habit would interrupt him while speaking and jump from one subject to another. Safi Al-Din said to Ibn Taymiyyah: "Oh son of Taymiyyah, I see you are like a sparrow that as soon as I want to catch it, it flies to another place." After this discussion Ibn Taymiyyah was imprisoned.[3]

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1. *Sahih Moslem.* vol. 1, p. 61.
2. *Marat Al-Jinan*, vol. 4, p. 278.
3. *Tabaqat Al-Shafe'iyyah,* vol. 9, p. 163; however, Ibn Kathir and some of the supporters of Ibn Taymiyyah say that Safi Al-Din was not successful in standing against Ibn Taymiyyah in the debates and his knowledge was not of an amount which would stand firm against Ibn Taymiyyah.

Ibn Taymiyyah continued to express his views and speak of beliefs that were against the beliefs of the people.[1] After some discussion sessions were held, the princes of Damascus sent him to Cairo accompanied by one of the Shafi'i scholars. Another discussion session was also held there and Ibn Taymiyyah discussed at length with scholars, who belonged to different Islamic sects. This resulted in the decision that he should be imprisoned in a pit in the Al-Jabal Fort (situated on one of the mountains of Damascus) and subsequently he went to prison in the aforementioned fort. He was freed after six months but even though he was in favour with the Egyptian kings, he was imprisoned again because he would not stop expressing his beliefs. He was then freed again and started to teach. After some time he went from Cairo to Damascus, and was called an unbeliever by the scholars there and an order was issued to stop him yet again.

Ibn Taymiyyah himself says in the fifth volume of his book (*Fatawa al-Kubra*) that:

"In 726 in the month of Ramadhan two princes, who came as messengers sent by the judges and by the rest of the princes who had made a society together, came and asked me to attend discussions which were going to be held in front of the judges." He then criticises the manner in which they (the judges and princes) worked, complained severely and, after pointing out the way the previous sessions were held, he then says to the judges, "I have written my views and beliefs, you write down what it is you want to say to me too." After Ibn Taymiyyah mentions the above matter he says, "The judges wrote the following in a letter: "Ibn Taymiyyah has to deny the belief of *jahat* (direction) and *makan* (place) with respect to God, and he should restrain himself from expressing the view that God's words are letters and sound that are self-existent to God, but rather he should believe that letters and sound are self-existent to himself. He should also believe that you cannot point intuitively towards God. In addition, he should not read out Hadiths[2] with regard to the qualities of God in

1. According to Ibn Taghri Bardi and Safadi, who were supporters of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Taymiyyah sometimes said rude things about his opponents. *Al-Wafi*, vol.7, p. 19; and *Al-Nujum Al-Zahirah*, vol. 9, p. 367 –and has also insulted Allamah Helli in *Minhaj Al-Sunna*, such as on p. 13, vol. 1.
2. Prophetic (s) sayings/narrations

front of common people, and he should not write down these Hadiths and send them to the cities."

After mentioning this, Ibn Taymiyyah states all the matters that were mentioned and then discusses them in detail and answers them. However, it seems, like the aforesaid answers, these answers also did not satisfy his opponents because his opponents did not stop pursuing him and throwing him in prison, until finally in Shawwal in 728 he died in prison. The last imprisonment of Ibn Taymiyyah, which resulted in his death, was because of his beliefs on the matter of *ziyarah*.[1]

Shawkani has said, "After the imprisonment of Ibn Taymiyyah, they declared publicly to the people of Damascus that it was permissible to spill the blood and plunder the property of whoever followed the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah. This was declared because of the *fatwa* of the Maleki judge in Damascus, which called him a *kafir*."[2]

What is apparent is that Ibn Taymiyyah had many opponents who were mostly from the well-known scholars of that time, but he equally had a large number of supporters who had strong faith in him such that, after his death, it was recorded that up to two hundred thousand people escorted his body at his funeral. Some drank the water of his *ghusl* for a blessing and whatever belonged to him was honoured.[3]

People would put their turbans and turban cloths on the corpse so that they could be blessed.[4] We can say that a group of Ibn Taymiyyah's supporters stayed in Syria and that until the time of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab his followers were still there. We can also say that it is possible that Shaykh Muhammad based his beliefs on Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs.

According to the saying of Hafidh Wahbah, who was one of the informed men of the Sa'udi country, "The efforts of Ibn Taymiyyah did not give the wanted result because the statesmen were against him. Nevertheless, it was destined for the ideology of Ibn Taymiyyah and

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1. *Fawat Al-Wafiyyat*, vol. 1 p. 77 and *Al-Wafi Bil Wafiyyat*, vol. 7, p. 18.
2. *Al-Badr al-Tali'*, vol. 1, p. 67.
3. Ibn Kathir, vol. 14, p. 136.
4. Ibn Al-Wardi, vol. 2, p. 406; this writer says that there were two hundred thousand men and fifteen thousand women escorting the body.

the propagation of his beliefs to be expressed and carried out in the twelfth century A.H after nearly four centuries. This was because Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs and views fell into the hands of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who was assisted and helped by Muhammad bin Sa'ud."[1]

The beliefs and views of Ibn Taymiyyah on religious jurisprudence

Before finishing the explanation of Ibn Taymiyyah's life and before mentioning his beliefs, it is suitable to remind you that even though he and his father are counted as Hanbali scholars, Ibn Taymiyyah did not constrict himself from following the religious jurisprudence of Ahmad Hanbal's sect or other sects, and he would choose and follow whatever he thought was right. He even follows the Shi'ah on some matters of religious jurisprudence even though he was generally opposed to the Shi'ah beliefs.[2]

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1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 335

2. With all the opposition Ibn Taymiyyah had against the Shi'ah and although he has written a book (*Menhaj Al-Sunna*) in rejection of Shi'ah beliefs, even in the same book one can find that sometimes he has defended the Ithna Ashari Shi'ah (Shi'ah who believe in twelve Imams) to some extent. As an example, in the first sections of the first vol. of *Menhaj Al-Sunna*, p. 25), after mentioning the accusations and insults made by Sha'bi and a few others towards the Shi'ah, he says, "It is possible that these do not exist in the Zaydiyyah sect and in the Ithna A'shari Shi'ah sect, and that many of these are seen in the Gholat sect and most of them by their common people". On another occasion, vol. 2, p. 360) he has said, "The Ithna Ashari Shi'ah are much better than other Shi'ah sects and in this sect a large group of Muslims who are not *kafirs* or hypocrites, whether it is with respect to their true beliefs or with respect to their appearance, exist." Having said this, in his books and theses he uses every opportunity to attack the Shi'ah. He has even written a thesis about the permissibility of killing heretics (Shi'ah), and he has written another thesis about the virtues of Mu'awiyyah and his son Yazid (*Safdi*, vol. 7, p. 26). In the book *Al-Rasa'il Al-Kubra* he defends Yazid, even though in the mass killings of Medina Yazid is the very person that apart from having killed the sons of the Prophet (s) and taking their wives and children captive, he killed 700 of the Sahaba of the Prophet (s) who were from the Mohajirin and Ansaar and their sons and other people in Medina, such as the remaining *Salaf Saleh*. Also, he killed another ten thousand people of Medina and catapulted the Holy Ka'bah.

For example on the matter of divorce[1], Ibn Taymiyyah believed that with one pronouncement, such as when a man says to a woman: "أنت طالق ثلاثاً"- "you are divorced three times", three divorces does *not* take place –only one divorce takes place[2]. Also, Ibn Taymiyyah sometimes narrated the *fiqh*[3] views of the Shi'ah and supported them with the sayings of Imam Muhammad Al-Baqir ('a), Imam Ja'far Al-Sadiq ('a) and the other Imams of the Ahl al-Bayt.[4]

Also, in the book *Fatawa al-Kubra* (a collection of Ibn Taymiyyah's *fatwas*) he speaks about matters that he has given special *fatwas* about and which are totally different from the *fatwas* of the four Imams of the Sunni sect.[5]

What is obvious in this matter is that Ibn Taymiyyah preferred the Hanbali sect because he viewed the Hanbali sect to be closest to the Qur'anic and Hadith texts.[6] It shall be discussed later that Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers, and afterwards the Wahhabis, took hold of the apparent and literal meaning of Hadiths and the Qur'an.

1. Abu Zohra says: "The citizens of our country's brother, Iran, are Ithna Ashari Shi'ah who have a rooted and self-existent *fiqh*, which has branches to its principles. Parts of the opinions and views in the new laws of Egypt have been extracted from the Ithna Ashari Shi'ahs views. Among these is the permissibility to leave a will for the heir. (*Ketaab Sharh Haal Ibn Taymiyyah*, p. 170)
2. Ibn 'Imad, vol. 2, p. 85; and Ibn Shakir, vol. 1, p. 74. It is narrated by Ibn Shakir that Ibn Taymiyyah had a thesis on the matter of divorce.
3. Religious jurisprudence
4. *Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 3, p. 20 and other cases.
5. *Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 3, p. 95. According to Shaykh Muhammad Bahja Al-Baydar, "Ibn Taymiyyah's specific *fatwas* amount to nearly 100 matters." (*Hayat Sheik Al-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah*, p. 46.
6. Abu Zohra, pp. 351, 352-420.

SECTION TWO
The beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah

Now we will give a short account of the beliefs and opinions of Ibn Taymiyyah, which provoked the scholars of different sects to act against him and caused them to oppose him severely:

1- The opinions of Ibn Taymiyyah on tawhid[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah says: "The *tawhid* which the Prophets have taught comprises the affirmation of *uluhiyyah*[2] for God only such that a slave should bear witness that other than God there is no other God, that he worships only Him and trusts in Him alone, that he befriends someone or is enemies with someone solely for God, and that whatever he does is solely for God and His pleasure. This *tawhid* entails what God has proven about himself in the Qur'an. However just accepting God as One, the belief that one God has created the universe, is not *tawhid.* Also if anyone acknowledges the qualities of God and believes God is free of fault and also confesses that God is the creator of all the creatures, this person is not a monotheist unless he professes that other than God there is no other God and unless he admits that only God is worthy of worshiping."[3]

Uluhiyyah[4] and tawhid rububiyyah

Ibn Taymiyyah has divided *tawhid* into two parts, *tawhid uluhiyyah* and *tawhid rububiyyah.* He has also said, "Because all the Islamic sects are ignorant of *tawhid uluhiyyah* they worship someone other than God and they only know one part of *tawhid*, which is *tawhid rububiyyah.*" What he means by *tawhid rububiyyah* is to profess that

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1. Unity of God/Oneness of God.
2. Lordship/Divinity of God.
3. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 15-16.
4. Lordship/Divinity of God.

God is the creator of all things. Ibn Taymiyyah says that polytheists also confess to this. (What Ibn Taymiyyah believes is that one must confess to the divinity of God and to *tawhid uluhiyyah* without considering the fact that God is a creator.)

It has been quoted from Abu Muhammad bin Marzuq that, "Accepting the matter that for whoever *rububiyyah* is proven he is worthy of worshipping exists in the minds of the children of Adam as long as they have a healthy nature. Therefore proving *rububiyyah* for someone and proving that someone is worthy of worship are necessary to each other."[1]

In our future topics it shall be mentioned that Ibn Taymiyyah believes that the following oppose *tawhid* and bring about blasphemy: any sort of *tawassul*[2] or *estighathah*[3] that is made to anyone other than God; regarding one of the Prophets or Awliyyah of Allah as intercessors; visiting graves and praying in such a way that one would say "Oh (Ya) Muhammad"; praying near the graves of great people, Prophets and pious men; and sacrificing and making *nathrs*[4] in cemeteries. Therefore, a monotheist in his opinion is a person who asks for whatever he wants from God directly and who places no one as an intercessor or a middle-man or medium, and under no circumstances turns to anyone other than God.

2- Expanding the circle of *kufr* (blasphemy) and *shirk* (polytheism)

Many actions, seen permissible and even *mustahab*[5] for the majority of Muslims, are *shirk* and abandonment of faith according to the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah. For example, in the opinion of Ibn Taymiyyah "Whenever a person travels and his only intention is to visit the Prophet's (s) grave, and the main reason for his journey is not to go to the Prophet's mosque, this person has abandoned the religious

1. *Al-Tawassul bi al-Nabi,* from p. 20 onwards.
2. Supplicating/ imploring for help.
3. Calling upon/asking for help/calling for assiatnce and help in times of hardship and distress.
4. Solemn promise and vow given to God to do something or give something for a need or want to be given.
5. Recommended but not obligatory.

laws of the Master of Prophets (Seyyed Al-Mursalin, the Prophet Muhammad -s-)."[1]

In addition, Ibn Taymiyyah says that "If such a person visits the Prophet's (s) or another's grave with the intention of (requesting one's needs from him) placing them as a partner to God and wanting something from him, this is *shirk* and is not permissible."[2]

"Also people who expect visitation of graves to give benefits and get rid of calamities are the same as idol worshippers, and like the idol worshippers believe that the idols can be a cause of benefit or loss."[3] "People who visit graves have the same intentions as *mushriks* (*person who commits *shirk*), and they request matters from their idol like *muwahhid* request from God." [4]

Ibn Taymiyyah also says: "Whoever calls to anyone other than God, and travels towards someone other than God on the basis that he is performing Hajj, and calls to the dead whether the dead are Prophets or not, he has committed *shirk* to God."[5]

According to Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion the circle of *shirk* and *kufr* is larger than what was mentioned. He has even given a *fatwa* that if a person is the neighbour of a mosque, but because of the circumstances of his work and his earnings, cannot attend *jama'at* prayers, then: "This person must be made to ask for forgiveness from God and if he does not do so it is obligatory (*wajib*) to kill him."[6]

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1. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i Ta'lif Ibn Taymiyyah*, pp. 18-21.
2. Ibid, p. 52.
3. Ibid, pp. 56, 59, 61-67.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. *Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 1 p. 366, Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz (died in 1229) was one of the powerful and well known Najd Princes, who appointed an Imam *jama'at* for every region. The Imam *jama'at* would pray after the first Imam *jama'at* so that the people who for some reason or another could not pray with the first Imam *jama'at* could pray with the second Imam (*Ibn Bishr*, vol. 1 p. 169). Also another one of the princes of the house of Sa'ud called Turki, chose two Imams for every mosque. One was an Imam *jama'at* for the majority of people and the other for people who because of their work couldn't be at the mosque on time. The reason he did this was because he was of the view that no one should pray their prayers on their own and everyone should take part in *jama'at* prayers.

The explanation of the aforesaid matters

Shawkani, who is one of the supporters of Ibn Taymiyyah and is one of those who agree with the invitation of Wahhabism, has said that "Among the matters, which have reached us from the master of Najd, one is that whoever does not attend *jama'at* prayers it is permissible to spill his blood. This belief is against the religious Islamic laws."[1]

The Salaf Salih[2], the four leaders of the Sunni sect and the majority of the scholars of the Islamic religion would in some cases pray their *wajib* prayers at their homes or outside the mosque. Malik, the leader of the Maleki sect would at first go to the mosque and pray. He then stopped going to the mosque and would pray at home. When he was rebuked for doing so, he said that he could not give the reason as to why he did so.[3]

Ahmad bin Hanbal also stopped going to the mosque. He would not go to the mosque to pray or to do things other than praying because of the firm anger of the caliph (i.e. the caliph opposed him).[4]

The previous Mufti[5] of Egypt and the previous head of Al-Azhar, Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut, says that "Muslims can pray wherever they want to: in a mosque, at home, on agricultural ground, in a factory, in a library and on the whole anywhere they are when it becomes the time for prayer. In addition one can pray *forada* prayers[6] or one can pray *jama'at* prayers. Praying *jama'at* is the best way of praying in Islam." Shaltut then mentions the benefits of *jama'at* prayers.[7]

Other beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah

Ibn Taymiyyah has explained a ruling about a person who delays his *zuhr* prayers till *maghrib* and his *maghrib* prayers till midnight as a

1. *Al-Badr al-Tali'*. vol. 2 p. 6.
2. Devout ancestors.
3. Ibn Al-Nadim. p. 280 and Ibn Khalkan, vol. 3 p. 285.
4. Safadi, vol. 6 p. 368.
5. A Muslim legal expert who is empowered to give rulings on religious matters.
6. Pray alone/do individual prayers.
7. *Al-Islam 'Aqida wa Sharia*, p. 94.

kafir (unbeliever), and he has said that "If such a person does not accept that his actions are blasphemy, they must slit his throat."[1]

Furthermore he says, "If a person, whether a man or a woman, does not pray then that person must be ordered to pray and if he does not accept to pray then according to most of the scholars it is obligatory for him to be killed. First they must make him ask for forgiveness from God and if he does not do so then he should be killed even if he has confessed that praying is obligatory."[2]

Moreover he has ruled that, if a man who is *baligh*[3] does not pray one of his five daily prayers or does not do one of the obligatory actions in prayer then: "He must be made to ask for forgiveness from God and if he does not do so then he must be killed."[4]

Ibn Taymiyyah believes that to swear by any of God's creations and to make a *nathr* for anyone apart from God is also *shirk*[5]. We will give further necessary explanations related to this later on.

3- The belief in Ru'yah (sight) and Ithbat Jahat (*proof of direction)

One of the most famous books of Ibn Taymiyyah is the book *Minhaj Al-Sunnah*. He wrote this book to show his rejection of the beliefs stated in the literary work (*Minhaj Al-Karama fi Ithbat Al-Imama*)[6] of a great Shi'ah scholar called Jamal Al-Din Abu Mansur Hasan bin Yusuf bin Al-Mutahhar AKA Allamah Hilli. Allamah Hilli died in 726, which was two years before the death of Ibn Taymiyyah. Ibn Taymiyyah first quotes the Shi'ah beliefs that Allamah has stated one by one, and then he tries to renounce and reject each. As an example

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1. *Kitab Al-Iman,* p. 293.
2. *Al-Siyyasa Al-Ashar'iyyah,* p. 129.
3. A man considered an adult (at the age of maturity and responsibility) according to religion.
4. *Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il* (*Al-Wasiyyat Al-Kubra*), vol. 1, p. 321.
5. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 163.
6. Hajj Khalifa has recorded the book's name as *Minhaj Al-Istiqama* (*Kashf Al-Dhonoon*, vol. 2 p. 1870). However *Minhaj Al-Karama* is undoubtedly correct and the Allamah himself has said in its introduction: "و سميتها" (*and I named it) Menhaj Al-Karama fi Ma'rafatal Imama". Hajj Khalifa himself calls the book *Minhaj Al-Karama* while mentioning the book *Minhaaj Al-Sunnah* by Ibn Taymiyyah.

after narrating that Allamah says that God is not seen and cannot be perceived with any of the senses because he himself has said:

﴿ لَّا تُدۡرِكُهُ ٱلۡأَبۡصَٰرُ وَهُوَ يُدۡرِكُ ٱلۡأَبۡصَٰرَ ﴾[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah then renounces the belief and rejects it.

Furthermore, after Ibn Taymiyyah quotes Allamah's words, which state that God is not in a specific place or direction, he has said that "The majority of people who are Sunni have agreed about *ithbat ru'yah* (proof of sight). Also there is a general consensus by all the Salaf[2] that God can be seen in the hereafter but not in this world, and there is a difference of opinion regarding whether the Prophet (s) saw God in this world or not." In relation to the aforementioned Qur'anic verse, Ibn Taymiyyah says that "it is possible that it means sight without perception."

Ibn Taymiyyah has given a detailed explanation on *ithbat ru'yah*[3] and *ithbat jahat*[4] for God and has used reasoning based on the apparent and literal meaning of Qur'anic verses and Hadiths.[5]

He has written his Hamawiyyah thesis to prove the meaning of *ithbat jahat* and *ithbat ru'yah*. He has written in this thesis that: "All the texts available indicate that God is above the Arsh and above the skies and one can point towards God with one's fingers and in the hereafter he shall be seen." Also that "God laughs and if anyone does not believe that God is on the Arsh[6] and above the skies he must be made to ask for forgiveness from God, and if he does not do so they must cut his throat." Moreover he says, "according to the apparent meaning of the *ayahs* (Qur'anic verses), God has limbs and organs. However, the quality that God is above[7] and other qualities, limbs and organs are not comparable to what the creations perceive as being above, and the

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1. Surah An'am, verse 103: ***"Vision comprehends Him not, but He comprehends (all) vision."***
2. Ancestors.
3. Proof of sight.
4. Proof of direction.
5. *Minhaj Al-Sunnah,* vol. 2 from p. 240 to 278; and *Al-Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 5, p. 54).
6. Celestial throne.
7. i.e. God being above or up.

qualities, limbs and organs of creations are also not comparable to those of God." Nevertheless he says, "The interpretations that have been made on this matter, for example in the verse:
"الرّحَمنُ على العَرش استَوٰى"[1] –they have interpreted اِستوٰى as اِستَولى, which is wrong, have been made by the Mutakalamin sect after they translated misleading books from different languages to Arabic."[2]

The beliefs of Ibn Qayyim about Ru'yah (sight)

Ibn Qayyim was Ibn Taymiyyah's student and colleague. He has written a long *Qasida* (a type of poem) called Kafiyyah Al-Shafia. One of the Hanbali scholars named Ahmad bin Ibrahim has written a book called *Tawdhih Al-Maqasid*, which consists of two volumes and gives a detailed explanation of Ibn Qayyim's Qasida. Regarding the matter that the people of heaven see God, Ibn Qayyim has written:

"وَ يرَونَهُ سُبحانَهُ مِن فَوقِهِم رُويا العِبادِ كَما يرى القَمَرانِ
هذا تَواتَرَ عَن رَسُولِ اللهِ لَم ينكِرهُ اِلا فاسِـــدُ الايمـــانِ"

"The people of heaven see God above their heads, in the same way they see the sun and the moon, this belief has reached us from successive witnesses of the Prophet (s) and apart from people who have a corrupt faith no one denies it."

The commentator (Ahmad bin Ibrahim) says that "All the Prophets, Sahabah, followers and the Imams of Islam agree on this matter (that the people of heaven will see God). However, the innovators of religion such as the Juhmiyyah, Mu'tazala, Badiniyyah and Rafidha (heretic) sects deny this."

The ability to see God has been mentioned in the Qur'an both explicitly and in an expositional way. Such as in the verse:

1. Surah Taha, verse 5: ***"The Beneficient One, Who is established on the Throne."***
2. *Risalat Al-'Aqida Al-Hamawiyyah from Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il,* vol. 1, p. 429 onwards

﴿ وُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ نَّاضِرَةٌ ۝٢٢ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٌ ﴾[1]

And in this verse

﴿وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ وَٱعْلَمُوٓاْ أَنَّكُم مُّلَٰقُوهُ﴾[2]

And in the verse

﴿تَحِيَّتُهُمْ يَوْمَ يَلْقَوْنَهُۥ سَلَٰمٌ ۚ﴾[3] ﴿فَمَن كَانَ يَرْجُواْ لِقَآءَ رَبِّهِۦ﴾[4]

And in several other verses.

Ibn Qayyim has written the *Qasida* below:

"بَيناهُمُ في عيشهم وَ سُرُورِهم	وَنَعيمهم في لَذّةٍ وَ تَهانِ
وَ اِذا بنُورٍ ساطِع قَد اُشرقَت	مِنهُ الجَنانُ قَصيها وَ الدّانى
رَفَعُوا اِلَيهِ رُؤوسَهُم فَراوهُ نُو	رَالرَّبِ لا يخفى على إنسان
وَ اِذا بِربّهمُ تعالى فَوقَهُم	قَد جاء لِلتسليمِ بالاحسان
قالَ اَلسلامُ عليكُمُ فَيرَونَه	جَهراً تعالى الربُ ذُو السّلطانِ"

"When the people of heaven are occupied with enjoying themselves and happiness; are absorbed in blessings and pleasure; and are busy saying congratulations to each other, suddenly a light will shine that will light up all of heaven. They will raise their heads towards that light and they will see that it is the light of God which is not hidden from anyone. While they have their heads raised they will see God who has come to give His *salams* to the people of heaven and then

1. Surah Qiyyama, verse 22-23: ***"(Some) faces that day will be bright, looking to their Lord."***
2. Surah Baqara, verse 223: ***"And keep your duty to God, and know that you will meet Him."***
3. Surah Ahzaab, verse 44: ***"Their salutation on the day they meet Him will be, Peace!"***
4. Surah Kahf, verse 110: ***"Those who hope to meet their Lord…".***

God will say to them: "Assalamu alaikum." It is then that the residents of paradise will see their Omnipotent Lord clearly."[1]

Ibn Qayyim relied on a saying quoted from Ibn Maja and wrote again:

"و كَذاكَ يسمعُهُم لَذيذَ خِطابه سُبحانَه بِتِلاوَة الفُرقانِ

فَكَانهّمُ لَم يسمَعُوُه قَبلَ ذا هذا رَواهُ الحافِظُ الطّبراني

هذا سَماع مُطلَق وَ سَماعُنا القر آن في الدُّنيا فَنَوع ثاني"

Have never heard such a recitation before. Dabrani has narrated this. Hearing this recitation is hearing the Qur'an truthfully and absolutely and what we heard in the world was another type of hearing."[2]

The commentator has mentioned Dabrani's narration, which states that: "The residents of heaven will be in the presence of God twice a day, and God will read Qur'an for them. All of the people present at the session are seated in their own specific places on pulpits made of pearl, ruby, topaz and emerald. Never have their eyes looked at anything better than God, and never have their ears heard more beautiful words than God's words. Then they return to their homes and await and hope for it to be morning and for these events to be repeated."

The teacher of the leader of the Wahhabi school (Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who the school was named after) was Shaykh Abdul-Aziz Muhammad Al-Salman. While answering questions in Riyadh about Ibn Taymiyyah's thesis on the Wasidiyyah belief, he said that: "The definite belief is that believers will see God with their eyes on the Day of Judgement and they will visit Him. God will speak to them and they will speak to God just as it is mentioned in the Qur'an:

﴿وُجُوهٌ يَوۡمَئِذٖ نَّاضِرَةٌ ٢٢ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٞ﴾

"(Some) faces that day will be bright, looking to their Lord."

1. *Tawdhih Al-Maqasid*, vol. 2, p. 573.
2. Ibid, p. 582.

The meaning of the verse according to the Hadiths is that you will see your Lord soon, in the same way you see the moon on the eve of the fourteenth night.

Shaykh Abdul-Aziz then says, "What one understands from the verse is that the sincere believers will look at God on the Day of Judgment clearly and freely with illuminated and happy faces, and that their faces are happy and illuminated because of the blessings God has given them."[1]

Reminder

What is integral to the views of Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim is that God has a body and a place and consists of limbs and organs. Ibn Taymiyyah says that if a person believes that God is above the skies and on the Arsh and is separate from his creations, it is a correct belief, whether or not he names that as a place for God.[2]

It is obvious that these words are said to prove that God has a place. Ibn Taymiyyah has even said that "One can point to God with one's fingers." It is a certainty that whoever is in a particular place and one can point to him with one's fingers, must have hands, eyes, a face and other organs and so it is inevitable that it or he has a body.

Allamah Hilli says the following with regard to this matter: "The Shi'ah believe that being pre-existent and primitive is restricted to the divine nature of God only, and everything apart from Him is created (meaning that it did not exist then existed). The Shi'ahs also believe that God is not a body or a substance. This is because every compound is made up of several parts and needs all of its parts. If one takes one of the elements of the compound, then that element on its own cannot represent the whole compound, (*it just represents itself, an element). God is not a form and is not in a place, because if he has a place then he is created. No creation is similar to God and God is not similar to any creation. Another Shi'ah belief about God is that he is not seen and he cannot be perceived by any of the senses because he himself has said:

1. *Al-As'ila wa al-Ajwiba al-Usuliyyah Ala al-'Aqida al-Wasitiyyah*, p. 198.
2. *Minhaj Al-Sunnah*, vol. 2, p. 106).

"لا تُدرِكُه الابصارُ وَ هُوَ يدرِكُ الابصار".[1]

Allamah Hilli has also said in the book *Sharh Tajrid al-I'tiqad Khaja Nasir Al-Din Tusi* that: "Because God is self-existent it is required for him to not be seen, and most wise men believe that seeing God is impossible. But people who believe God has a body say that seeing God is possible whereas if they were to believe that God is single (*does not consist of matter, is free of matter) they would believe that it is not possible to see God.

By believing that seeing God is not inconsistent with God being One, the Asha'ira have opposed all the wise scholars. The reason for the rejection of the belief in the ability to see God is that for God to be self-existent it requires for him to be single, and it requires for him to have no place or direction. Therefore, it is necessary for him to not be seeable. This is because whatever one can see with one's eyes is inevitably in a place or a direction and one can point to it and one can say it is here or there, and such a thing can be placed opposite to a human or a human can be placed opposite to it (*e.g. one can say the human is standing opposite the couch or the couch is opposite the human*), and because there is no such thing (*i.e. because this is not true about God) therefore it is inevitable that sight (*i.e. seeing God) is not possible."[2]

One can refer to the two aforementioned books of Allamah Hilli and other books, which are related to the Shi'ah beliefs, to find out about the Shi'ah belief on the matter of *ru'yah* and matters of the same kind, the reasoning they have given for their beliefs and the answers they have given to their opponents. One must take into consideration though that in many of the *milal and nihal* books, such as the book *Al-Fisal Ibn Hazm and Milal wa Nihal*, some things about the Shi'ah which are in no way correct have been mentioned due to ignorance or the grudge that this group of writers bear against the Shi'ah.

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1. Surah Al-Anaam, verse 103, *Minhaj Al-Karama* 82 (in the introduction of Minhaj Al-Sunnah vol. 1).
2. *Sharh Tajrid al-I'tiqad*, p. 182.

The beliefs of Imam Al-Haramain Juwayni

Imam Al-Haramain Abd Al-Malik Juwayni is one of the greatest fifth century Shafi'i scholars. While mentioning the *salbiyyah* qualities of God he has also said:

"God is not in a specific direction or placed opposite something, because everything that has a direction has a place in that direction, and everything that has a place has the capability to meet with a substance, or to separate from a substance. Everything that is like this is either meeting or separating and everything that has the capability to meet or separate from a substance is created like the substance itself. Therefore, we have proved that the divine nature of God is that he does not exist in a specific place or direction, and does not meet with bodies and masses.

If someone asks about the Ayah:

﴿ٱلرَّحۡمَـٰنُ عَلَى ٱلۡعَرۡشِ ٱسۡتَوَىٰ﴾

What would you say? One would answer, that what is meant by the word "استَوُلی" is rage, victory and highness of status. Also when the Arabs say: استوُلی فلان علِی المملکه, it means he gained superiority and was victorious over everything. A poet writes:

"قَد اِستوی بِشر علی العِراقِ مِن غَیر سَیفٍ وَ دَم مُهراقِ"

"Mankind (Bishar bin Marwan) was victorious over Iraq without bloodshed."[1]

It should be understood that belief in the ability to see God existed centuries before Ibn Taymiyyah. A group of the Murjiaa believed this and also believed in the personification of God and that he has limbs and organs.

"تعالی الله عما یقولون علوا کبیرا"[2].

1. *Lam' Al-Adila fi 'Aqaid Ahl Al-Sunnah* and *Al-Jamea Ta'lif Imam Al-Haramain*, p. 94-95. The words of Imam Al-Haramain are accepted by the majority of the common scholars.
2. *Maqalat Al-Islamiyeen Abu Al-Hasan Ashari*, pp. 233, 271, 290, 340. Ibn Taymiyyah has also written several theses about Ru'yah. (Ibn Shakir vol. 1, p. 79).

4- The belief that God descends to the skies of the world

While giving a description of Damascus, Ibn Battuta says: "Ibn Taymiyyah was one of the great Faqihs of the Hanbali sect, and he talked about different branches of knowledge and sciences. He would preach to the people of Damascus while sitting on the pulpit. Once he talked about something that the Faqihs of the time renounced and rejected and the Faqihs thought it was an ugly act to have said such a thing and so they informed the king of Egypt, Malik Nasir. Malik Nasir ordered for Ibn Taymiyyah to be sent to Cairo. In Egypt the Faqihs and Judges gathered together in Malik Nasir's meeting. The first to speak was Sharaf Al-Din Zawawi Maliki, who stated Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs. Malik Nasir ordered for Ibn Taymiyyah to be sent to prison. He was in prison for some years and during that time he wrote a book on the interpretation of the Qur'an called *Al-Bahr Al-Muhit* which consists of 40 volumes. After being freed from prison, he again said some things that the scholars renounced. I (Ibn Battuta) was in Damascus at this time. On Friday when Ibn Taymiyyah went on the pulpit to preach to the people in the central mosque I was present. In his preaching he said that God descends to the skies of the world (the first sky), just as I now descend from this pulpit and he came down one step from the pulpit's stairs.[1]

When Ibn Taymiyyah said this, a Maliki *faqih*, who was called Ibn Al-Zahra stood up in opposition and rejected his views. The common people attacked the *faqih* and they hit him with their hands and shoes so much that his turban fell off. Under his turban a hat or skullcap made of silk was found, the people found it indecent for a *faqih* to be wearing silk and so they took him to 'Iz Al-Din bin Muslim, who was a Hanbali judge. The judge ordered the *faqih* to be punished according to religious laws (he was given beatings below the full amount prescribed by law). The Maliki and Shafi'i judges believed the

1. Ibn Taymiyyah says that "God is above the Arsh and above the skies. *Al-'Aqida Al-Hamawiyya Al-Kubra* which is in *Majmuat Al-Rasa'il,* vol. 1, p. 429 and that from there he descends to the worlds skies (the first sky)." He has written several theses to prove that God is above the skies and is on the Arsh (literally and without allegorical explanations and interpretations), and to answer how it is possible to interpret God's qualities by the literal meanings of Ayahs and Hadiths and yet deny the likeness of God to anything, and to talk about the women in heaven also seeing God and other similar matters.

Hanbali judge's ruling was wrong and they informed Malik Al-Umara Saif Al-Din Tanqiz. Saif Al-Din informed Malik Nasir by mentioning the above matter and a few other of Ibn Taymiyyah's views in a religious law letter (a religious law letter contains the signatures of judges and just men). This lead to Malik Nasir ordering the imprisonment of Ibn Taymiyyah, and Ibn Taymiyyah stayed in prison until he died."[1]

According to the hadith Ibn Taymiyyah has mentioned in his thesis on the Wasidiyyah belief ('Aqida Al-Wasidiyyah), "God descends to the skies of the world every night."[2]

5- The belief that the infallibility of Prophets is necessary before they are given the Prophetic mission (Bi'tha)

Allamah Hilli says, "Prophets are protected and innocent of committing big or small mistakes or sins. If this were not so, what prophets say would not be reliable and trustworthy." Ibn Taymiyyah answered Allamah Hilli by saying, "It is not necessary for a Prophet to be infallible before being appointed to prophecy." To prove this Ibn Taymiyyah has given some reasons.[3]

Ibn Taymiyyah also believed that the Prophets were only infallible at the time of proclaiming God's laws and he has written a thesis regarding this matter.[4]

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1. *Rihlat Ibn Battuta* vol. 1, p. 57. However Shaykh Muhammad Bahja Al-Baydar denies the correctness of Ibn Battuta's explanation of events and says that when Ibn Battuta was in Damascus, Ibn Taymiyyah was in prison (*Hayaat Ibn Taymiyyah*, p. 36). The fact that Ibn Battuta was in Damascus in 726 is indisputable. Ibn Taymiyyah also went to prison in this year. It is possible that Ibn Taymiyyah's imprisonment was after the events he talked about.
2. *Al-'Aqida Al-Wasitiyyah*, found in *Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il Al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 398.
3. *Minhaj Al-Sunnah*, vol. 2, pp. 308-397.
4. Ibn Shakir, vol. 1, p. 79. While discussing the aforesaid matter, it is appropriate to point out Ibn Taymiyyah's following belief: "Khidhr, who accompanied Prophet Moses ('a), died before the Be'tha of the Prophet (s). This is because if he were to stay alive, it would have been obligatory for him to visit the Prophet (s)." (*Mujmu'at Al-Rasa'il*, vol. 2, p. 66). Even though according Safdi's narration, at the time of Ahmad bin Hanbal (first half of third century) Khidhr sent a message to Ahmad by using a messenger.

6- After the Prophet's (s) death

Ibn Taymiyyah weakens and faults any hadith which does not support his own views. For example:

"مَن حَجَّ فَزارَ قَبري بَعدَ مَوتي كانَ كَمَن زارَني في حَياتي"

"Whoever goes to Hajj after my death and then visits my grave it is as if he has visited me when I was alive." Ibn Taymiyyah has said the narrator of the hadith, Hafidh bin Sulayman, is not a trustworthy person. Also he has faulted the two narrators of the following two Hadiths:

"مَن حَجَّ وَ لَم يزرني فَقَد جَفاني"

"Whoever performs Hajj and does not visit me has committed an injustice towards me."

And:

"مَن زارَ قَبرِي وَجَبَت لَه شفاعَتي"

"Whoever visits my grave, my intercession for him is obligatory." [1]

Ibn Taymiyyah has said in rejection to the matters mentioned in these Hadiths that "Whoever visits the Prophet (s) in his lifetime is counted as one of the Muhajirin (i.e.immigrants) traveling to go to the hply Prophet (s). Furthermore if the people, who live after the death of the Prophet (s) do all the *wajibat* (*obligatory actions), they cannot be like the Sahabah (*companions) of the Prophet (s), let alone if they carry out matters which are a part of the *nafilas*[2]. The *nafilas* either cause no proximity of relationship to God and are not recommend or are prohibited. (what is meant here by *nafila* is the visiting of the Prophet's (s) grave)."[3-4]

Ibn Taymiyyah then says, "Some people claim that after the death of the Prophet (s) they have seen the Prophet (s) and have spoken to him

1. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i,* pp. 27-28.
2. Supererogatory prayers, recommended actions.
3. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, pp. 54-55.
4. * What is meant here is that *wajibat* have a lot of reward and for one to do these ones still does not reach the status of a Sahaba let alone if one does his *nafilas*, which are only recommended and do not have as much *thawab.*

and have asked about *fatwas* and Hadiths and have heard answers. Others believe that the Prophet's (s) grave has opened up and the Prophet (s) has come out of the grave and other such matters. I (Ibn Taymiyyah) know many of the people who these events have taken place for or are taking place for, and they believe them to be God's signs and they believe that these events only take place for religious and pious people. These people do not know that all this is Satan's work and that when a person does not have enough knowledge Satan will mislead him."[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah also says, "Whoever believes that the existence of the Prophet (s) after his death is like the existence of the Prophet (s) when he was alive, has committed a great mistake."[2]

7- His belief about the Hurma[3] of Salat and Dua' in the Holy Marqad[4] of the Prophet (s)

Ibn Taymiyyah says, "There is no hadith that leads one to believe that it is recommended to visit the Prophet's (s) grave.[5] This is because at the time of the caliphs (it seems he means the Khulafa Al-Rashidin (the first four caliphs)) no one would go near the Prophet's (s) grave, but rather would send Salaams to the Prophet (s) when they were entering or exiting the mosque." Ibn Taymiyyah then says, "To go near the Prophet's (s) grave is *bid'ah* (*an innovation in religion) [6] and it is not permissible to stand in front of the grave and say *salaam* with a loud voice."

Ibn Taymiyyah then talks about the area around the holy Prophet's (s) grave and says: "The Prophet's (s) holy body was buried in 'Aiyshah's cell. The cells of the wives of the Prophet (s) were located

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1. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, pp. 55-54.
2. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 54)- You are reminded that while explaining the Wahhabi beliefs a part of the Hadiths are related to the visiting of the Prophet's (s) grave and his life and his knowledge, and they will be mentioned after mentioning his death.
3. *To regard something with reverence and deep respect.
4. *A room made of metal or stone in which a dead person is laid or buried.
5. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 77.
6. Given that Bukhari, who in the opinion of the Sunnis, is the owner of the most correct Hadith book (Sahih Bukhari), has said that "I wrote history near the Prophet's (s) grave." *Abu Al-Fida*, vol. 2, p. 61.

towards the east and in the direction of the Qiblah of the mosque. After ‘Aiyshah died her cell was locked. It stayed locked until the leadership of Walid bin Abd Al-Malik bin Marwan. His (*Marwan’s) deputy in Medinah, Walid bin ‘Umar bin Abdul-Aziz, ordered for the cells of the Prophet’s (s) wives to be bought from their heirs and ruined and to be made a part of the mosque.”

Ibn Taymiyyah then says, “When ‘Aiyshah was alive people would go to her to hear Hadiths; however, no one would go near the holy grave whether it was to perform prayer or to read *dua’*. The grave was not layered with stone but with large particles of sand.[1] No one was given the permission to enter the cells where the mausoleum of the holy Prophet (s) was and no one was allowed to read *dua’* or pray near his grave.[2] However, a few ignorant people would pray in the direction of the grave and cry out and say things that are prohibited. All these actions would take place outside the holy cell and no one was able to get near the grave and to pray and read *dua’* next to it like they do near other graves. As long as ‘Aiyshah was alive no one had the permission to go near the grave or to pray or read *dua’* there. After ‘Aiyshah died the cell was locked. At the time of Walid bin Abd Al-Malik, when the cell was made a part of the mosque, they closed its door and built another wall around it.[3] The holy grave that exists

1. Fasi has written in *Shifa’ Al-Gharam*, vol. 2, p. 391, that: “The grave was covered with small red stones.” Shawkani says: “The scholars have said that the Prophet (s) has prohibited anyone from making the place where his grave is or anyone else’s is a mosque to prevent people exaggerating about his greatness. This is because it is possible that this exaggeration could lead to balsphemy, and the Prophet (s) was scared of this as it had taken place for many nations in the past.” *Nayl Al-Awdar*, vol. 2, p. 391.

2. Fasi also says that “At the time of ‘Aiyshah, they would take soil from the Prophet’s (s) grave for a blessing.” *Shifa’ Al-Gharam*, vol. 2, p. 391.

3. Samhudi talks about the reason the holy cell was closed and says: “Imam Hasan bin Ali (‘a) always said that he wanted his body to be buried next to the holy Prophet’s (s), but years later when Imam Husayn bin Ali (‘a) wanted to carry out his brother’s will, a group stopped him and waged a war against him. It was for this reason that Abd Al-Malik bin Marwan (or another person) ordered for the area around the cell to be closed.” (Wafa’ Al-Wafa’, vol. 1, p. 388). Considering that there was a long time gap between the burying of Imam Hasan (‘a) and the caliphate of Abd Al-Malik, what we have said may not be true unless it was Mo’awiyya who ordered for the area around the cell to be closed.

inside the cell does not have a stone, a board or wood on top of it and is not covered with flowers but is covered with large sand particles."[1]

What Ibn Taymiyyah intends to do by giving this introduction and by his repetition of the fact that no one could go near the Prophet's (s) grave, is to say that to worship and read *dua'* near the holy grave is like idol worshipping and is blasphemy. To prove his claims Ibn Taymiyyah has used a few Hadiths.

The explanation of the condition of the holy mausoleum

Tabari has narrated from Qasim bin Muhammad that, "I went to 'Aiyshah and said: "Oh mother show me the Prophet's (s) grave and the grave of the two people who are buried next to him." 'Aiyshah showed me three graves that were neither level with the ground nor higher than the ground (what is meant here is the height of the grave was little) and they were layered with small stones or red sand. Also I saw that the Prophet's (s) grave was in front and Abu Bakr's grave was behind it, and Omar's grave was behind Abu Bakr's grave."[2]

Fasi says, "At the time when 'Umar bin Abdul-Aziz ruined the *buq'a*[3] to expand the mosque, the Prophet's (s) grave had a height of 4 fingers (*horizontally placed) from the ground and was layered with small reddish stones."[4]

Fasi also quotes from Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Aqil, and says, "He (*Aqil) went to the Prophet's (s) grave and stayed there for a while. He saw that the grave of Abu Bakr was behind the grave of the Prophet (s) and the grave of Omar was behind the grave of Abu Bakr."[5]

So that we can explain the condition that the holy mausoleum of the Prophet (s) was in it is appropriate to also mention that, according to the writings of Samhudi, Fatimah the daughter of Imam Husayn ('a) and her husband Hasan (Hasan Muthanna) lived in the cell of the daughter of the Prophet (s), who was called Fatimah. When Walid

1. *Al-Jawab al-Bahir fi Zowwar al-Maqabir Ta'lif Ibn Taymiyyah,* pp. 10-13.
2. *Tarikh al-Tabari* vol. 4, p. 2131, the first part.
3. A building which houses a grave.
4. *Shifa' al-Gharam,* vol. 2, p. 391.
5. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 393.

gave the order of the expansion of the mosque they threw them out of the cell and ruined it. Hasan bin Hasan ordered his eldest son Ja'far to go to the mosque and not leave until he saw whether they placed a stone that he had described in the building or not. Ja'far obeyed his father and saw that they removed the stands and brought out the stone. When he told his father what he saw, his father fell down in *sajda* (prostration) and said this was the stone that the Prophet (s) used to pray on. Ali bin Musa Al-Rida has said that "Fatimah ('a) gave birth to her two sons Hasan ('a) and Husayn ('a) on this stone" Furthermore every time a part of Husayn bin Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Al-Husayn's body, who was the most learned of the descendants of Ali ('a), would hurt he would remove the small stones on top of the stone and lay the part of his body that hurt on it. The stone described here is connected to the wall of the grave."[1]

The chest on the Prophet's (s) grave

Samhudi says, "I do not know when the chest was first put on top of the holy grave of the Prophet (s) apart from that it existed before the first fire of the mosque[2] (in 654). This is because when the person in charge of building the mosque removed the chest, underneath it the stands of an old chest were found. The old chest had marks on it which showed that it was burnt in the fire. It seems when they were renewing the building they put the old chest inside the new chest." Ibn Jubair's writings confirm Samhudi's words. Ibn Jubair was a well-known explorer of the sixth century and he has written the following:

"A chest made of ebony, encrusted with sandalwood and decorated with silver exists opposite the head of the holy Prophet (s). Its length is five spans, its width is three spans and its height is four spans. In front of the Prophet (s) (*i.e. in front of the grave) a nail made of silver is placed. People stand opposite the nail and say their *salams* to the Prophet (s).

On this side of the burial place around twenty lanterns are hanging from the ceiling. Two of these lanterns are made of gold and the rest are made of silver. Inside the holy *rawdhah* (*area where Prophet's (s) grave is) there is a section covered with marble. Also there is a

1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa' Bi Akhbar Dar Al-Mosdafa,* vol. 1, p. 408.
2. The description of the fire in *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 1, p. 427.

building, which resembles an altar and which is in the direction of the Qiblah and some people know it as the house of Fatimah (‘a) and others know it as Fatimah’s (‘a) grave. Also in front of the holy *rawdhah* there is a large chest placed for the candles and lights, which are lit opposite the *rawdhah* every night.”[1]

Ibn Battuta who saw Medinah Al-Munawarra and the Prophet’s (s) mosque two centuries after Ibn Jubair and two centuries before Samhudi gives approximately the same description of the holy *rawdha*.

The covering of the holy grave, making it fragrant, hanging lanterns around it, and giving valuable presents

Samhudi discusses the covering of the Prophet’s (s) holy grave, the area around it, making the holy grave fragrant, and after mentioning some narrations he says, “At the time of Harun Al-Rashid, Khayzaran (Harun’s mother) ordered the Prophet’s (s) holy grave to be sprayed with saffron and other perfumes. She also ordered for the grave to be covered with shawls and silk materials with a lattice pattern, and this was done.”[2]

Samhudi also says that “Before this they only sprayed perfume and saffron to two thirds of the grave but in 170 A.H. because of the order given by Khayzaran the whole grave was sprayed with perfume.” What one understands by reading Samhudi’s written work is that the scholars have a difference of opinion regarding whether the holy Prophet’s (s) grave was covered or not. Nevertheless covering the grave with curtains and pulling curtains around the grave was usually done. In 760 A.H., at the time of Sultan Ismail bin Malik Nasir, Galawown, a village, which belonged to the Egyptian treasury, was bought and endowed so that with the income obtained from it the covering of the holy Ka’bah, is changed every year and the covering of the Prophet’s holy cell and pulpit is changed every five years”

Samhudi then says: “Apart from the materials and various lanterns made of silver, gold and crystal, valuable things which were mostly made of gold and silver were placed beautifully around the holy grave,

1. *Rihlat Ibn Jubair*, p. 148 onwards.
2. *Wafa’ Al-Wafa’*, vol. 1, p. 415.

and the ruling for them is the same ruling for similar objects found inside the Ka'bah.

Subki has written a book called *Tanazzul al-Sakina ala Qanadil al-Madina* which is about the expensive lanterns which were studded with jewels and were placed around the holy grave."[1]

Samhudi says after narrating some matters about the hanging of the lanterns and decorating around the grave that "Hanging lanterns in the holy cell was normal and usually done, and it is a priority to carry out these matters in this sacred place rather than carrying them out in other places.

An uncountable group of scholars and devout men have come to visit the holy

Prophet's (s) grave and none of them have said the aforesaid matters are prohibited and this is enough to prove its permissibility."[2]

The number of lanterns in the Prophet's *Haram*[3] would sometimes become so many that they would sell some of them and would use the money for building or refurbishing around the *Haram*. Such as in 705 the head of the servants in the Prophet's (s) *Haram* asked permission from Soldan to sell some lanterns and to use the money to build a minaret at Bab Al-Salam (Al-Salaam door). Soldan gave his permission and they sold the lanterns. Two of the lanterns sold were made of gold and cost 1000 Dinars.[4]

The dome on the cell

Samhudi, whose book is one of the best and most credited documents in relation to the history of Medinah and the mosque and shrine of the

1. Ibid.
2. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 1, p. 424. – with regard to the covering of the Prophet's (s) holy grave it must be said that at present the Prophet's (s) holy mausoleum is covered with a thick material. This material can be seen from the lattice framed sections around the *rowdhah*. It seems that the last time it was changed was at the time of King Sa'ud which is around ten to fifteen years ago.
3. Sacred zone/ sanctuary/ shrine / an area around the grave where people pray and read *dua'*.
4. Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah*, vol. 14, p. 38.

Prophet (s), says the following about the black and blue dome on top of the Prophet's (s) shrine:

"Before the first fire of the holy mosque (in 654) there was no dome on the Prophet's (s) cell. However on the roof, there was a building made of brick, which was half the stature of a man in height and parallel to the cell. This was there so that the roof of the cell would be noticeable from among the other parts of the mosque. In 678, at the time of Malik Mansur Galawown Salehi, a dome was built on top of the cell which had a square base and an eight sided on top."[1]

When were the doors of the Prophet's shrine closed?

In 822, Najm Al-Din Hajji, who was a judge from Damascus, went to Hajj with a group of people travelling from Damascus. When he saw that the Prophet's (s) holy *rawdhah* was crowded, he gave a *fatwa* stating that the doors of the shrine must be closed. Due to the efforts put in by this judge, in 828 an order was issued from Soldan and the doors were closed.

"I (Samhudi) saw a marginal note in Majd's book, which was written by Hafidh Jamal Al-Din bin Al-Kayahd Yamani and which stated that "At the time of Malik Ashraf Barsbaay, who was the ruler of Egypt and Damascus, the doors around the Haram and the holy *rawdha*, which were made of lattice frames, were nailed together, and after that (after 830) people would visit the Prophet (s) from behind these doors and no one could enter the Prophet's shrine"."

Samhudi expresses his opinion here and says, "The right thing to have done was to leave some of the doors open and to appoint some officials to prevent any disrespect made by some ignorant people. Not to close the doors of the Prophet's (s) shrine and to stop people visiting the Prophet's (s) shrine (*buqa*)[2]. To stop the *ziyarah*[3] of the Prophet (s) is the same as closing down the mosque."[4]

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1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 1, p. 435.
2. *A building which houses a grave.
3. Visiting.
4. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 1, p. 441. The doors of the Prophet's (s) Haram are now closed completely. There are only latticed parts on every side of the wall of the Haram. One can see very little of the inside of the *rowdhah*, which is totally dark, from in between the latticed areas.

However, in relation to closing down the area around the holy grave of the Prophet (s) Shawkani says, "Because the Sahabah and followers of the Prophet (s) saw that the population of Muslims was increasing they needed to expand the Prophet's (s) mosque and so the houses of wives of the Prophet (s) were included in this expansion and among them was 'Aiyshah's cell, where the

Prophet's (s) grave is. They built high walls around the grave for fear of common people praying towards it and committing actions which are not permissible (worshipping someone other than God)."[1]

The small stones on the floor of the mosque

To finish off these explanations it is necessary to point out that the floor of the Prophet's (s) mosque, which was layered with small red stones and is such today, is related to the time of the Prophet (s). Ibn Dawud gives an explanation of this in his book *Sunan*. He has quoted from Abi Al-Walid, who has narrated that he asked Ibn 'Umar: "Why do small red stones lie on the floor of the mosque?" Ibn 'Umar replied: "It rained one night, and in the morning the ground was wet and muddy, whoever came to the mosque carried some small stones in their clothes and would throw them in the mosque and would spread them and pray on them. After the prayers finished, the Prophet (s) said what a good act this was. Since then no one would allow themselves to take the small stones out of the mosque."[2]

Another explanation about visiting the Prophet's (s) holy grave and kissing and touching it

Samhudi, who is seen as trustworthy in the eyes of the majority of the Sunni scholars and Wahhabis, mentions many occasions where people would go near the grave and they would put their hands on the grave and they would even take soil from the holy grave for *baraka*[3]. After 'Aiyshah ordered a wall to be built in front of the grave, people would take soil (for *baraka*) from in between the openings that existed in the wall.[4]

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1. *Nail Al-Awdar*, vol. 2, p. 140.
2. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 1, p. 472, and *Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 2, p. 33.
3. Something, which brings good fortune and blessings
4. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 1, p. 385.

Samhudi has quoted from Anas bin Malik that he saw a man who had put his hand on the Prophet's (s) grave and told him it is prohibited to do so, then according to the narrations of some scholars, the man said: "If you put your hand on the grave with the intention of wanting to shake hands with the person buried in the grave, it doesn't matter."

Samhudi also quotes from Ibn Askar's book *Tuhfa* that: "Touching the wall of the holy grave and kissing it and circling around it, just like the ignorant do, is not from the Prophetic traditions and is *makruh*[1]." Subsequently Samhudi quotes from Abi Nu'aym that Ibn 'Umar believed that putting your hands on the Prophet's (s) grave was highly *makruh*. Samhudi then says, "Abdullah bin Ahmad Hanbal told his father that the people touch the pulpit of the Prophet (s) and they kiss it and they also touch and kiss the holy grave. Ahmad (Abdullah's father) replied: "It doesn't matter"."

Subki has said in rejection to Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs that: "The issue regarding not putting your hands on the Prophet's (s) grave is not agreed by the majority of scholars. This is because it has been narrated by Muttalib bin Abdullah that Marwan bin Hakam saw a man who had embraced the holy grave, Marwan took hold of the man's neck and told him: "What are you doing?" The man turned his face away from him and said: "I have not come for stone and bricks, but I have come for the Prophet (s). When the holy grave falls into the hands of unworthy people then you can cry for religion"." The aforementioned man was Abu Ayyub Ansari. Subki says: "If the documents related to this narration are correct, then touching the wall of the grave is not *makruh*."

According to another narration, Bilal came from Damascus to do the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s). He went near the Prophet's (s) grave and while he was rubbing his face on the grave's soil he started to cry. Also referring to another narration from Ali ('a), when they buried the Prophet (s), Fatimah ('a) came and stood in front of the grave and she took a handful of the soil from the grave and put it on her eyes and cried. Also another narration states that Ibn Omar would put his right hand on the holy grave and Bilal would put his cheeks on the holy grave. Abdullah, the son of Ahmad Hanbal, has said, "Being

1. Disapproved yet not forbidden or unlawful.

overwhelmed with love causes these matters to become permissible and all of these reactions are a type of respect and honour."[1]

The rest of Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs about the grave and the holy rawdha

The majority of Ibn Taymiyyah's supporting evidence is based on the actions of the Salaf (Sahabah and the followers of the Prophet -s-). However on some matters such as visiting graves and getting close to the Prophet's (s) grave, he does not accept the Salaf's actions as being correct and says, "The actions of the Salaf are not enough to prove that a certain belief or action is correct and another sort of proof or reasoning is required."[2] Ibn Taymiyyah even believes that *looking* at the Prophet's (s) grave is forbidden and prohibited.[3]

Regarding the grave and *rawdhah* he says: "There is no way for any visitor to reach the Prophet's (s) grave, and the grave is not placed in an area where there is enough room for all the visitors. Also the cell does not have lattice frames so that you can see the grave from in between the gaps. People are prohibited from being able to see or reach the grave. One of the greatest things that God has graced his Prophet (s) with is that he was buried in his own house, which was next to the mosque. Furthermore, whoever has the intention of performing prayers must perform them in the mosque where it is lawfully allowed (according to Islamic laws)."[4]

After what he has said above, Ibn Taymiyyah continues and says, "There is no lantern hanging near the Prophet's (s) grave and no curtains have been drawn. Also no one is allowed to make the grave fragrant with saffron and other perfumes, or to do a *nathr* to give oil for lamps, candles or curtains."[5] Elsewhere he has said, "The

1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 2, from p. 1402 onwards.
2. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhnaei,* p. 114.
3. Ibid, p. 99.
4. The most famous student of Ibn Taymiyyah was Ibn Qayyim Jawziyyah, and he says: "Apart from performing the death prayers, performing every other prayer near graves is forbidden and not permissible in religious law."
5. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i,* p. 102.

Prophet's (s) grave has no difference with other graves but rather it is his mosque that is superior to other mosques."[1]

8- The Hurma of traveling to visit the graves

Ibn Taymiyyah cites the following Hadith:

"لا تشدُ الرِّحالُ اِلا إلى ثَلاثةِ مساجد، المَسجِدُ الحَرامُ وَ مَسجِدِي هذا والمَسجِد الأقصى"

"Travelling to see or perform prayers in the following three mosques is permissible and allowed in Islamic laws: Masjid Al-Haram, Prophet's (s) mosque and the Al-Aqsa mosque."[2]

And says, "Therefore, traveling to other mosques or visiting the graves of Prophets, pious men and *Awliyya' Allah* is not lawfully allowed and is an innovation in religion."

Moreover he says, "Traveling to visit graves is done with the intention of it being an act of worship, and an act of worship is either *wajib* or *mustahab*. Because there is a general consensus and unanimous agreement that traveling to visit graves is neither *wajib* nor *mustahab*, this trip is *bid'ah* (*an innovation)." He then says: "None of the Prophet's (s) Sahabah visited any of the graves of the Prophets or pious people in their lifetime. The Sahabah of the Prophet (s) would visit Jerusalem but none of them would visit the grave of Abraham and none of them would travel to Medinah to visit the Prophet's (s) grave." While discussing these matters Ibn Taymiyyah attacks the Shi'ah severely and says: "It is the heretics that do the following: make the graves of pious men into mosques and perform their prayers there, do *nathr* for the graves, travel to the graves on the basis of it being Hajj[3], sometimes believe that going for Hajj to the house of one of Allah's creations is better than going for Hajj to *Bayt Al-Haram* (*Mecca) and call this Hajj the 'Great Hajj'. Furthermore their (the heretic's) scholars have written many books concerning these matters

1. Ibid, p. 145.
2. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i.*
3. Pilgrimage.

such as Shaykh Mufid (a great Shi'ah scholar of the fourth and fifth century), who has written a book called *Manasik Hajj Al-Mashahid*."[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah has also said, "Believing that visiting the graves of Prophets and pious men causes closeness to God and is an act of worship, is against the beliefs of most people."[2] He also says, "In the religious laws of Islam there is no action that is called visiting graves."[3] Furthermore, "One can even say that to travel with the intention of visiting graves (as Ibn Taymiyyah puts it, Hajj to the graves) is a greater sin than killing a person. This is because this action can sometimes cause *shirk* and can cause one to depart from the nation of Islam."[4] He also says: "If a person has done a *nathr*[5] to visit the grave of Abraham, or the grave of the Prophet (s), or the mountain of Dur or cave of Hera, or other such places it is not *wajib* for him to carry out such a *nathr*."[6]

The explanation of the general and unanimous agreement regarding the issue of visiting graves

In the days of Ibn Taymiyyah and also after his time, a group of scholars from different sects rejected his views especially the beliefs about the *hurma* of traveling to visit graves and *ithbat jahat*, and they have given a detailed explanation as to why they do not accept his views. For instance one of Ibn Taymiyyah's contemporaries, who was a Maliki scholar called Qadhi Akhnaei and a Maliki judge, composed a thesis called *Al-Maqala Al-Mardhiyyah* in rejection to Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs. This book reached the hands of Ibn Taymiyyah and he answered it by writing a book called *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*.

Qadhi Akhnaei, regarding some quotes of Ibn Taymiyyah, has said, "The belief of Ibn Taymiyyah is against the general consensus of Muslims and traveling to visit the graves of Prophets and pious men

1. A summary of the pp. 14 to 19 from the book *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir by Ibn Taymiyyah*.
2. *Al-Radd ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 13.
3. Ibid, p. 19.
4. Ibid, p. 155 – later on we will point out the narration quoted in the book *Musnad* by Ahmad Hanbal.
5. *Solemn promise to God to do something, e.g. to carry out an act, when one's needs are bestowed.
6. *Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il al-Kubra*, vol. 2, p. 59.

without a doubt is a type of *mustahab* journey, and so in this respect (*that it is a *mustahab* journey) it is the same as traveling to the Prophet's (s) mosque. Also whoever says that traveling anywhere apart from the three aforementioned mosques has been prohibited, has spoken against the general consensus of the Muslims, and he has openly rebelled and has become enemies with the Prophets." Qadhi Akhnaei also says, "Some scholars believe visiting the Prophet's (s) grave is *wajib* (obligatory) and in any case no one doubts it is *mustahab*. In the book *Musnad* by Abi Shaibah, this Prophetic Hadith has been written:

"مَن صلّى عَلَيَّ عِندَ قَبرِي سَمعتُهُ وَمَن صَلّى نائياً سَمِعتُهُ"

"Whoever sends a *salawah* (*to say, praise and greetings to God, Muhammad and his descendants) near my grave, I will hear it, and if he says *salawah* from a far place, I will hear that also."[1]

Here two points are of importance: firstly, each of these two people (Ibn Taymiyyah and Akhnaei) consider each other to have beliefs that are against the general consensus of Muslims.[2] Secondly, a lot of Ibn Taymiyyah's supporting evidence is from the writings of Malik and his followers. Nevertheless most of the people who rose in opposition against him were from the Maliki scholars and they debated and disputed with him both in Damascus and Cairo, and then they threw him in prison.

Let us now return to our topic of discussion: Ibn Shakir says, "The matter of *Shadd Rihal* (the *hurma* of traveling to any mosque apart from three mosques) was one of the most important matters which provoked and roused the opposition of the scholars of that time."[3]

The late Allamah Amini has mentioned many Hadiths about *ziyarah* (visiting of graves), which are narrated by the Sunnis in his discussion about visiting graves. He has also mentioned fifty two graves which

1. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i,* p. 8, 34 and131.
2. Ibn Taymiyyah says: "What I mean by the general consensus is not knowing whether an opposition exists rather than the definite conclusion that opposition does not exist." *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i.*
3. *Fawat Al-Wafiyyat*, vol. 1, p. 74.

were shrines for the Sunni sect from the first Hijrah centuries till today, and has showed supporting evidence for each shrine.[1]

Another explanation of the attributions made to the Shi'ah

One of the unjust attributions made to the Shi'ah from olden times is that they believe that the *ziyarah* of the graves of their Imams and great people is in the same rank as going to Hajj to God's house (*i.e. Ka'bah). This accusation and other accusations that were made to the Shi'ah at different periods grew and became extreme at the time of the Saljuqiyyan. The reason for this was that after the Ismailiyyah Fadaiyyah[2] killed Nedham Al-Molk and because of the power which Hasan Sabah and his successors had gained to frighten and endanger, the Saljuqi kings went into deep thought and they could not sleep peacefully because of their fear. While this was the state of the affairs the enemies of the Shi'ah saw a chance to portray the Shi'ah, or according to them the Rafidha (heretics), as enemies of the Saljuqi reign. Therefore they encouraged and exhorted the Saljuqi sultans to massacre the people in cities where the Shi'ah lived and to burn these cities. One can find many examples of this in the poetic and prose literary works of the Saljuqi era. Many well-known Shi'ah men were killed due to the accusation that they were from the Badini sect. The author (Ali Asghar Faqihi) has written some examples of these events in a book called *Tarikh Madhabi Qum*.

To sum up, the enemies of the Shi'ah tried their best to get the Shi'ah killed and cause inconveniences for the Shi'ah. They did this by accusing them of being Badini, which means being Ismaeili and being from the followers of Hasan Sabah, or by accusing them of collaborating with the Badinas and also by taking advantage of the fact that the Saljuqis feared the Ismaeiliyyah. Furthermore in order to provoke the anger and enmity of the Saljuqi sultans and others towards the Shi'ah they also made other accusations. One of these accusations is about the issue of visiting graves. *They* have said that the Shi'ah consider it to be in the same rank and as important as Hajj. Abu Bakr Muhammad Rawandi is a sixth century historian who is one of the writers of the Saljuqi period and who openly made this huge

1. *Al-Ghadir*, vol. 5, p. 184 onwards.
2. Volunteer for a dangerous cause.

accusation to the Shi'ah. Along with the enmity he had towards the Shi'ah and the accusations he has made about the Shi'ah, he has also said, "The Shi'ah named one thousand Kashi men (*natives of Kashan) who have not seen the Ka'bah and not even reached Baghdad but have been to Toos[1] (*a town to the west of Mashhad) as Hajji (*a person who has been to Hajj)." What he means by having been to Toos is the *ziyarah* of the grave of Ali Ibn Musa Al-Rida ('a).

This huge accusation was also made later on. This accusation is more or less seen in the literary works of people who are prejudiced towards the Shi'ah or by people who, because of their ignorance or unfamiliarity with the Shi'ah beliefs, were enemies with the Shi'ah. Among these writers a contemporary writer and explorer called Muhammad Thabit, who traveled to Iran forty years ago and went to Mashhad, has said, "The great Shah Abbas, a well-known Safavid king, stopped the Iranians from traveling to Hajj because he did not like the Arabs. He also encouraged them to place Imam Rida's ('a) shrine as their Ka'bah and he himself traveled there on foot. This is why few Iranians go to Hajj and Iranians prefer the title of Mashhadi to be placed in front of their name rather than Hajji…"[2]

It seems that while this explorer and writer busied himself with tourism, having what he imagined and pictured about the Shi'ah (which he had probably obtained by studying books or writings that consist of accusations and spiteful attributions to the Shi'ah) in mind and without thinking deeply with care, he made pessimistic opinions about his observations. He has made conclusions for himself regarding his observations and, without checking that the image he had of the Shi'ah was a reality, he wrote whatever he thought was true in his itinerary. As a result, many mistakes and matters that are not true are found in his writings.

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1. The book *Rahat Al-Sodoor*, p. 394, talks about the type of enmities that took place against the Shi'ah at the time of the Ghaznoyan and the Saljoqiyyan. They went as far as not appointing the Shi'ah for governmental jobs. Also appointing the Shi'ah for a post in the government of Al-Bowya was considered a sin and this is explained in detail in the book *Al-Bowya wa Tarikh Madhabi Qom*.
2. *Jowla fi Roboo' Sharq Al-Adna*, such as the series of itineraries of this writer p. 161.

If he had studied the matters a little more fairly he would have inevitably noticed that there was no historic evidence which proved the enmity of Shah Abbas towards the Arabs. In any case, why would Shah Abbas have any enmity with the Arabs? The historic evidence and documents prove otherwise. Also there is no evidence found which indicates or suggests that Shah Abbas forbade the Iranian people from going to Hajj. Furthermore his journey to Mashhad on foot was because of a *nathr* he had made and there are no historic documents which mention otherwise. Also, how is it possible for a God-fearing king like Shah Abbas – with all the good he did including road constructions he carried out, subterranean canals he excavated and mosques he built – to forbid going to Hajj, which is a great religious duty?!

Moreover if Muhammad Thabit had studied Iran a little more, if he had related to the people and if he had gotten closely acquainted with them he would have easily found that the people of Iran found traveling to Maccah 'the Great' and to Hajj, and receiving the title of Hajji in front of their names to be a great credit and a huge privilege. He would have also found that in Iran the title of Hajji is the only title that can be placed in front of the name of anyone who belongs to any class. It can be placed in front of the names of great scholars, religious authorities, nobles, upper class men, craftsmen, merchants and all ordinary people alike.

He would have also noticed that the biggest aspiration of any Iranian is to be blessed to travel to Hajj and to be honored by visiting the two holy cities of Maccah and Medinah. At no period was the number of Iranian people going to Hajj less than the other Islamic countries. Also because of the increase in the number of pilgrims, who were mostly from the Iranian governments, an Prince Al-Hajj[1] was appointed. Furthermore, according to the statistics that the Sa'udi government has published, it has been years where Iran has been placed first with regard to the number of Iranian pilgrims to Maccah.

Additionally, it is appropriate to mention that because of further carelessness of the aforesaid writer while discussing the *firooza* stone (turquoise) which is installed in one of the old courtyards and which is

1. Pilgrim guide and leader.

in the grounds around the mosque and burial place in Mashhad, he says, "The turquoise quarry is in Firooz Abad Fars where there is a mountain – its most important part is its summit – which is composed of different types of turquoise." Actually, everyone knows that the Firooza quarry of Iran is in Neyshabur (town west of Mashhad) and in Firooz Abad Fars there is no turquoise quarry at all. It appears that the word Firooz (first part of Firooz Abad) was the cause of this explorer's mistake.

What causes one to be surprised even more with regard to this matter is how it was possible for Ibn Taymiyyah who, in spite of apparently being aware of the vast Shi'ah *fiqh* (*Shi'ah religious jurisprudence) and in some matters even chose the *fiqh* beliefs of the Shi'ah, to be affected by accusations which were made about the Shi'ah some centuries before him. Furthermore, it is wondered why he thought the Shi'ah believe visiting graves and shrines of Imams and great religious people, acts which have been emphasized and are recommended according to many sayings narrated by both Shi'ahs and Sunnis, is in the same rank as going on Hajj to Maccah.[1]

Even more strangely is that he has attributed these beliefs to Shaykh Mufid, who was one of the greatest scholars and *Faqih* and speakers of the Shi'ah according to the majority of Sunni writers. Is it possible for someone like Sheik Mufid to say that Hajj, which is a religious

1. It is possible that one of the reasons Ibn Taymiyyah had a severe enmity with the Shi'ah was that he was great enemies with the Darwizis, who form one of the Ismailiyyah sects, and he thought that they were one of the Shi'ah sects. According to Galgasahndi (*Sobh Al-A'sha*, vol. 13, p. 248), Ibn Taymiyyah even "Believed that to go to war with the Darwizis and Nosairiyya was more important than going to war with the Armenians." Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers believed that the Darwizis accompanied the Mogul tribe, who at that time had attacked Egypt and Syria, and had common secrets with them. He has given a detailed *fatwa* about going to war with the Nosairiyya (*Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 358). At the time of Ibn Taymiyyah the Nosairiyya became powerful and so openly talked about their beliefs. Dhabi has written about the events that took place in 717 and has said, "A Jabali man (a man that comes from Jabala from the Halab region), who sometimes claimed he was Muhammad Al-Mostafa (*the Prophet -s-) and sometimes claimed he was Ali ('a), and one time also claimed that he was the awaited Imam, appeared. He believed all the people were Kafir and his followers would say La Ilaha Illa Ali (*There is not God but Ali). He also believed that killing people was allowed and these kinds of actions and words were seen from him" (*Dhail Al-E'bar*, p. 91). Ibn Taymiyyah counts these and similar matters as Shi'ah beliefs.

duty and is obligatory for anyone who has the financial means, is in the same rank as *ziyarah* which is *mustahab*? Furthermore, is it possible for him to go even further than that and name it (*ziyarah*) the great Hajj?

In addition to Shaykh Mufid and great Shi'ah scholars even the most common and illiterate Shi'ah people do not only not have this belief but have never even heard such a thing.

It is necessary to mention at the end of our discussion that there are no available indexes and books that have been written by historians which mention a book called *Manasik Hajj Al-Mashahed* written by Shaykh Mufid, and it is not clear what source Ibn Taymiyyah has relied on to ascribe this imaginary book to Sheik Mufid.[1]

Reminder

It has been mentioned many times in the present book that because of Ibn Taymiyyah's enmity towards the Shi'ah he has attributed pathetic beliefs to them, even though Ibn Taymiyyah knew very well that the beliefs and sayings of the Ja'fari Shi'ah or Ithna Ashari Shi'ah are taught to them by their Imams, who have received these beliefs from the Prophet (s). He calls the Shi'ah *rafidha* (*heretics) almost everywhere and it is obvious that only the enemies of the Shi'ah apply this name to the Shi'ah because it is a type of taunt and reproach.

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1. It must be said that because of Ibn Taymiyyah's severe grudge against the Shi'ah, instead of mentioning the beliefs of the Shi'ah, especially with regard to the principles, truthfully and exactly as they really are, he has put down every wrong and blasphemous belief that was attributed to different sects, who perhaps even no longer exist, which are found in the book *Milal wa Nihal*, as the beliefs of the Shi'ah (we will talk about the aforementioned books later on). Also whoever exaggerated about a shaykh or a spiritual leader, whether alive or dead, on any occasion or at any time, he regarded his actions as one of the beliefs of the Shi'ah (refer to the beginning of the first vol. and the end of the second vol. of the book *Minhaj Al-Sunnah*). Even though for the sake of justice and fairness he had to refer to the Shi'ah books to find out the true and correct Shi'ah Ithna Ashari or Jafari beliefs. Such as the books *Sharh Tajrid* and *Minhaj Al-Karama* by Allamah Hilli (Ibn Taymiyyah has not refrained from using every attack upon the Shi'ah to reject the second book). If in these types of books he saw such matters or exaggerations, then he would have had the right to put them down as the Shi'ah beliefs.

It is suitable here to give a summary of the description about the *rafidha* given in the book *Al-Islam Bayn al-Sunnah wa al-Shi'ah*:

Who are the Rafidha?

What occurs to some people is that apart from the Shi'ah and Sunnis there is a third group in Islam and that is the Rafidhi group. Many writers who try to find out who the *rafidha* are, are mistaken about them and do not know if this group is attributed to the Shi'ah or the Sunnis. Some very common Shi'ah think the *rafidha* are the Sunni sect. The truth is the *rafidha* are neither Sunni nor Shi'ah. Below we will explain who the *rafidha* are exactly by using a correct and scientific method and by using historical sources.

Rafdh means to reject whatever *wahy*[1] says, and to go back to myths and fables concerning idol worshipping, which means to abandon the signs given in the *wahy*.[2] This does not only concern Muslims, but rather it concerns all the heavenly religions. In all the heavenly religions there existed contaminated and ill souls, who turned towards corruption and deviated from the truth (here the authors have mentioned examples of abandoning the teachings of the *wahy* and deviating towards blasphemy, which existed in the religions of Moses -as- and Jesus -as-).

In Islam, the first time a deviation from religion occurred was at the time of the first advent of Islam and this was by Abdullah bin Saba' Yahudi Hiri Yamani.[3] He was captivated by Jewish mythology and brought these views and thoughts into Islam by exaggerating about Imam Ali bin Abi Talib ('a). At first he said that Imam Ali ('a) was the Prophet (s) and then he said Imam Ali ('a) was God.

Ibn Saba' and his followers are further away than everyone else from Islam, the teachings of Islam, and from Imam Ali ('a) himself. They would say, "Ali was a Prophet and Gabriel made a mistake when

1. God's revelation to Prophets.
2. It is unclear whether it is correct or not that the name Rafidh or Rafidhi was applied to the Shi'ah from the time of Zayd Ibn Ali's revolt. Apparently, this name was also applied to the Shi'ah by their enemies sooner.
3. Some Shi'ah researchers believe the story of Abdullah bin Saba' to be unfounded and made up, and they believe him to be imaginary. Allamah Sayyid Mortadha A'skari has compiled a book with regard to this.

giving the prophetic mission (instead of giving it to Ali, gave it to Muhammad)."

These people are enemies of Gabriel. 'Being enemies with Gabriel' means to behave badly towards Gabriel and attribute faults to him. This is a sick and ill belief, which is Greek and Sabei Barhamani and is found in past religions, such as religions that reject *wahy* and the existence of a connection between God and his slaves. God points to this mythological illness in the following verse:

﴿قُلۡ مَن كَانَ عَدُوّٗا لِّجِبۡرِيلَ فَإِنَّهُۥ نَزَّلَهُۥ عَلَىٰ قَلۡبِكَ بِإِذۡنِ ٱللَّهِ مُصَدِّقٗا لِّمَا بَيۡنَ يَدَيۡهِ وَهُدٗى وَبُشۡرَىٰ لِلۡمُؤۡمِنِينَ﴾

"Say, 'Whoever is an enemy of Gabriel [should know that] it is he who has brought it down on your heart with the will of Allah, confirming what has been [revealed] before it, and as a guidance and good news to the faithful." [1]

The sayings of Ibn Saba' and his exaggeration about Imam Ali ('a) upset the Imam, and so according to the narration of Sayyid Radhi in Nahj Al-Balagha, Amir Al-Mu'minin has said, "There are two groups that will perish with regard to hating me and loving me. One, people who like me and exaggerate about me. The other an enemy who bears severe enmity towards me [2] (here he means Nawasib, who called Imam Ali ('a) an unbeliever)." Today there is no one who belongs to these two groups and Sayyid Muhsin Amin, who is a great scholar and Mujtahid[3], has pointed this out.

Another belief of Abdullah Saba' and his followers was that "Ali ('a) is not dead, that he is greater than that he should die, and that he is on the clouds and the thunder is his voice." Ibn Saba' and his followers also thought Ali ('a) was God.

From among Muslims Abdullah Saba' is the first person to rule that humans can possess the state or quality of being divine and after him

1. Surah Baqara, verse 97.
2. Halak Fiyyah Rajulan, Muhib Ghaal wa Mubghidh Gaal (from the short words of Amir Al-Mu'minin -'a-), (*this is the title of Imam Ali -'a-).
3. Clergyman practicing religious jurisprudence.

his followers carried on believing this. They did not believe these people (*who they believed where divine) were the great Creator like they believed about God, but rather they would say that these people were manifestations of the appearance of God's power.[1]

According to the Shi'ah narrations, Amir Al-Mu'minin told the followers of Abdullah Saba' to repent and when they didn't do so, he ordered them to be killed. Having said all of this, Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers attribute these pathetic and blasphemous beliefs and similar beliefs, which have been written by Shahrestani, Baghdadi and others, to the Shi'ah and they have used them as documents to deliver the most severe attacks on the Shi'ah. In fact, some of these writers may have never had any followers, and those who did the Shi'ah were disgusted by them.[2]

It seems that Ibn Taymiyyah's accusations towards the Shi'ah were first based on the book *Al-'Uthmaniyyah,* and then on the book *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq* by Baghdadi. He has mentioned matters in *Minhaj Al-Sunnah*, which are an exact replica of what is mentioned in the book *Al-'Uthmaniyya*.

9- Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion about visiting the Prophet's (s) grave and other graves

Ibn Taymiyyah has said in a *fatwa,* "According to the general consensus of the Muslim Imams, whenever prayer and *dua'* is made exclusive to the holy sites[3] of the graves, it is against the religion of Islam, and whoever thinks that performing prayer and *dua'* and *dhikr*[4] in the holy sites is better than doing these in mosques, is a *kafir* (unbeliever)."[5]

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1. A summary from what was written in the book Al-Islam Bayn Al-Sunnah wa Al-Shi'ah, vol. 1, p. 97 to 112, – the description given about Rafdh and Rafedhi is a new explanation and it needs to be carefully studied.
2. To find out about Abdullah Saba's followers and other Ghulaat sects refer to the book *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq,* Al-Baghdadi, p. 333 onwards), and with regard to Ibn Saba' being imaginary and that such a person did not exist refer to the book *Abdullah Saba'* by Allamah Sayyid Murtadha 'Askari.
3. Area where a martyr is buried.
4. Remembrance of God.
5. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 2, p. 431.

Ibn Taymiyyah says the following regarding the Prophet's (s) mosque and grave: "Traveling to the Prophet's (s) mosque and visiting his grave is a good act and is *mustahab*. On such a journey, prayer is performed *qasr* (incomplete – which means it is not a sinful journey). This type of *ziyarah* (which is done while you are traveling to the mosque) is one of the best good acts and visiting graves is in general *mustahab*. The Prophet (s) would visit the graves in the *Baqi'* Cemetery[1] and would visit the graves of the martyrs of Uhud. He also taught his companions to read the following words while doing *ziyarah*:

"اَلسَلامُ عَلَيكُمُ اَهلَ الديارِ مِنَ المُؤمِنينَ وَ اَلمُسلِمينَ وَاِنّا اِن شاء اللّهُ بِكُم لاحِقونَ وَيرحمَ اللّهُ المُستَقدِمينَ مِنّا وَمِنكُم وَ المُستأخِرينَ وَ نَسئلُ اللّهَ لَنا وَ لَكُمُ العافِية . اللّهمَ لا تَحرمنا اَجرَهُم وَ لا تَفِتنا بَعدَهُم وَ أغفِرلَنا وَ لَهُم."

When the *ziyarah* of the graves of the majority of believers is allowed, it is obvious that the *ziyarah* of the graves of the Prophets and pious men must be more recommended. However, in this matter our holy Prophet (s) is different, basically meaning that in every prayer we say *salawah* and send salutations to him, also in every *adhan* and *dua'* and when entering his mosque or any other mosque, and when exiting a mosque salutations are sent to him. This is why Malik has said, "It is *makruh* if someone says I visited the Prophet's (s) grave because what is meant by the *ziyarah* of graves is to send salutations and read *dua'* for the owner of the grave, and these *salams* and *dua'* to the Prophet (s) is in its complete form when it is read while praying, reading the *adhan*, and reading *dua'*."[2] For this reason the Sahabah of the Prophet (s) never went towards the Prophet's (s) grave and never wanted to do *ziyarah* of the grave from inside or outside the cell. Therefore, if anyone travels with only the intention of doing *ziyarah* of the grave and he does not have the intention of performing prayers inside the mosque, he is a misled person and an innovator of religion."[3]

1. Cemetery in Medina, which is near the Prophet's (s) grave and mosque.
2. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, pp. 14, 15, 22, 25.
3. Ibid.

Ibn Taymiyyah has narrated several sayings about this journey where the only intention is to do *ziyarah* and whether the prayers must be performed complete or *qasr* on this journey because it is a sinful journey.[1]

According to the narration of Ibn Battuta, Ibn Taymiyyah himself believed that it is a sinful journey and prayers are performed complete.[2]

Ibn Taymiyyah also says: "None of the Muslim Imams, believed that travelling on a journey with the only intention to do *ziyarah* of the grave of Abraham and the graves of other Prophets and pious men as a *mustahab* act, and if a person does a *nathr* to go on such a journey carrying out his *nathr* is not *wajib*."[3]

He says with regard to the manner in which one does *ziyarah* that: "If the intention is to only read *dua'* for the owner of the grave it is a good act. However, according to the general opinion of all the scholars this type of *ziyarah* is *haram* if it requires a *haram* act, such as acts that are *shirk* (it appears what he means by this is to do *estighathah* to the owner of the grave or place him as an intercessor, which Ibn Taymiyyah regards as *shirk*) or to lament, wail or to idle talk. However, crying due to sadness for a dead friend or blood relation is allowed on the condition that the crying is not accompanied by lamenting and wailing."[4] "Such a *ziyarah* is allowed for men. Moreover, for women there is a difference in opinion with regard to whether they can visit graves or not."[5]

Concerning the matter of visiting *kafir's* graves, he says "It is permissible so that it can remind one of the hereafter but asking for forgiveness for unbelievers is not allowed."[6]

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1. Ibid.
2. *Rihlat Ibn Battuta,* vol. 1, p. 58.
3. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra,* vol. 2, p. 219.
4. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir,* p. 45.
5. *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i,* p. 23. – Today women are not allowed to enter the graveyard of *Baqi'* and other graveyards of the Sa'udi country. The writer of *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 225, says, "It is not *mostahab* for women to visit graves." Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab has quoted a Hadith from Abbas in his book *Tawhid*, which states that the Prophet (s) cursed women who did *ziyarat* of graves.
6. *Al-Jawab Al Bahir*, pp. 44, 47, 51.

He also believes: "Going near a grave and praying, sitting on or in front of a grave, and making the *ziyarah* of graves an Eid (festival) (which means that doing *ziyarah* at a specific time and going in a group) is unlawful."[1] He also says, "It is unlawful to send *salawah* and salutations to the Prophet (s) near his grave because this act is like having an Eid on the Prophet's (s) grave."[2]

In relation to the Hadiths, which have reached us and are about the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave, Ibn Taymiyyah says, "All the scholars of Hadith unanimously agree that all these Hadiths are weak and perhaps even made up. Also putting one's hand on the holy Prophet's (s) grave and kissing the grave is not permissible and these acts oppose the belief in *tawhid*."[3] "Furthermore, in Islam a grave that one should do the *ziyarah* of does not exist at all, and the matter of doing *ziyarah* for graves came up after the third century."[4]

"The first people to make up and invent Hadiths about the *ziyarah* of holy sites were the Rafidha, who are heretics and innovators of religion. They are the ones who close mosques and try to honour holy sites and who commit *shirk*, innovation and lie in the holy sites."[5]

Ibn Taymiyyah gives an answer to a question which was asked from him regarding the matter of *ziyarah*. This answer reached the ears of a Shafi'i judge in Damascus, and the judge wrote at the bottom of the paper, "I confronted the answer that was in the handwriting of Ibn Taymiyyah with a question. What causes Ibn Taymiyyah to be separated from us (with respect to beliefs) is that he believes the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave and other Prophet's graves is a sin."

Ibn Kathir states after narrating the above that: "The attribution of these words to Ibn Taymiyyah is an alteration of his words." Ibn Kathir is one of the well-known followers and supporters of Ibn Taymiyyah. He then explains the matter of *ziyarah* according to the opinions of Ibn Taymiyyah.[6]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i,* pp. 30-31.
4. Ibid, pp. 32-66.
5. Ibid.
6. *Al-Bidayah wa al-Nihayah,* vol. 14, p. 124.

The explanation about the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) holy grave and other graves

Ibn Taymiyyah persists a great deal and insists on his own opinions regarding the general matter of *ziyarah* and more particularly the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s). Therefore, in his two books *Al-Jawhar Al-Bahir* and *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, every matter that he sees as a reason and every source he mentions, he repeats it several times in different ways. He believes the Hadiths which are related to the permissibility of visiting the Prophet's (s) grave and its *ziyarah* being *mustahab* are weak, forged and made up. Such as the following Hadith:

"من زار قبري وجبت له شفاعتي"

"Whoever visits my grave, my intercession of him is *wajib*." This Hadith has been quoted from the Prophet (s) and narrated via different sources from the Sunni sect. However, Ibn Taymiyyah says it is incorrect, even though these Hadiths related to *ziyarah* are narrated via different sources and exist in the Sihah books and exist in books that are believed to be reliable by all the Islamic sects. Also a large number of scholars of these sects believe the Hadiths are correct and act upon what is mentioned in them.[1] Here we will point out several Hadiths:

Malik (the leader of the Maliki sect) has quoted the following in his book *al-Mutta'*, and he has quoted it from Abdullah bin Dinar: "Whenever Ibn Omar went on a journey or came back from a journey he would go near the Prophet's (s) grave and perform prayers and would send greetings and read *dua'*. Muhammad (s) said: "It should be so that when one arrives in Medinah one visits the Prophet (s) on the way."[2]

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1. Such as Ahmad Hanbal's narration by the Prophet (s), which says:

"نهيتكم عن زيارة القبور فزوروها فإن في زيارتها عظة وعبرة"

"I prohibited you from doing the *ziyarah* of the graves before, but now I say to do their *ziyarah* because by visiting graves one gains advice and learns a lesson". Ahmad has narrated this Hadith in several different ways. *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 5, pp. 356, 357,359 and some other places.

2. *Mutta'*, p. 334, second edition, Egypt.

Abu Hurairah has narrated that the Prophet (s) said: "God gave me permission to visit my mother's grave"[1]. Also according to a narration by Abu Bakr, which is from the Prophet (s), "Whoever visits the grave of his mother and father on Friday, or visits one of them and reads Surah Yasin over their grave, God will forgive him."[2]

Also, the narration of Abdullah bin Abi Malika: "One day I saw 'Aiyshah coming back from the cemetery, and I said: "Oh Umm Al-Mu'minin hasn't the Prophet (s) forbidden the *ziyarah* of the graves?" She said: "It was so but then he ordered us to do the *ziyarah* of the graves."[3]

Furthermore, according to another narration, the Prophet (s) says, "Whoever comes to do my *ziyarah* and apart from doing my *ziyarah* has no other intention, it is necessary for me to be his intercessor on the Day of Judgement."[4]

Samhudi has also stated seventeen Hadiths with their sources about the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave. We will mention some of these whilst explaining the beliefs of the Wahhabis concerning *ziyarah*.

Samhudi has also written in detail about the way in which one should do *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave and the rules of doing *ziyarah*. A summary of his writings is as below:

Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Al-Husayn Al-Samiri Al-Hanbali has said about the subject of *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave and the rules and manner of *ziyarah* that: "A visitor goes forward towards the wall of the grave and stands at its corner. He stands in front of the grave with his back to the Qiblah such that the pulpit is on his left hand side." He then mentions the manner in which one sends *salams* and reads *dua'* for the Prophet (s), among them is this *dua'*:

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1. *Sahih Muslem,* vol. 3, p. 65, and *Sunan Abi Daud,* vol. 3, p. 212.
2. *Sharh Jami' Saghir,* Siuti, p. 297.
3. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 255.
4. *Shifa' Al-Ghara,* vol. 2, p. 397.

"اللّهمَّ اِنَّكَ قُلتَ في كِتابكَ لِنبيكَ عَلَيه السّلامُ وَ لَو اَنَّهمُ اذ ظَلموا اَنفُسَهُم ، جاؤُكَ إلى آخر الآيه) وَإنّي قَد اَتَيتُ نَبيكَ مَستغفراً وَ اَسأَلُكَ اَن تُوجِبَ إلى المغفرة كَما اَوجبتُها لِمَن اَتاهُ في حَياتِه ، اَللّهمَ إنّي اَتَوَجَّهُ اِلَيكَ بِنَبِيك."

"Oh God, you have said to your Prophet (s) in your book, "If they had only, when they were unjust to themselves, come unto thee and asked Allah's forgiveness, and the Messenger had asked forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah indeed Oft-returning, Most Merciful." (4:64) I have verily come to your Prophet (s) for want of forgiveness and I request that You make Your forgiveness *wajib* (*obligatory) for me in the same way that for the people who went to the Prophet during his life You made forgiveness *wajib* for them. Oh God, I have resorted to You through your Prophet"

Abu Mansur Kermani, who is one of the Hanafi scholars, has said, "If someone wanted you to send his *salams* to the Prophet (s), you say (*to the Prophet (s) when visiting his grave): May the *salams* of 'such and such persons' be upon you. He has placed you as his intercessor near God so that he may be subjected to God's forgiveness and mercy. Intercede for him."

Samhudi, who is regarded as reliable and trustworthy to the majority of the Islamic sects, has allocated more than fifty pages of his book on the subject of the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave and the rules of *ziyarah* and doing *tawassul* to the holy grave. He has also mentioned numerous accounts where people seek refuge in the Prophet's (s) grave when they come across great difficulties.[1]

In addition to the many Hadiths that the late Allamah Amini has narrated from the Sunni sect about the recommendation and superiority of the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave, he has also quoted the sayings of more than forty distinguished scholars of the four sects about the favourability and superiority of the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave.[2]

1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa' Bi-Akhbar Dar Al-Mostaf*, vol. 4, p. 1371-1422.
2. Al-Ghadir, vol. 5, from p. 109 onwards.

It seems suitable here to quote the words of the contemporary Egyptian writer Muhammad Abu Zuhreh, who says: "Ibn Taymiyyah has opposed and perhaps fought with the Muslim people with these words (sayings forbidding the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave)"

The *ziyarah* of the *rawdha*[1] of the Prophet (s) reminds one of the fortitude and the holy war of the Prophet (s) and the efforts of the Prophet (s) in raising the status of *tawhid* and eliminating *shirk* and idol worshipping. Ibn Taymiyyah has himself narrated, "Whenever the Salaf Salih passed the *rawdhah* of the Prophet (s), they would send *salams* to the Prophet (s)."

Nafe' who was the servant and narrator of Abdullah bin 'Umar has said, "Abdullah bin Omar would send *salams* to the holy grave and I have seen him come near the grave more than one hundred times. I also saw him rub his hands on the area of the pulpit where the Prophet (s) would sit. Whenever each one of the four Imams, entered Medinah they would visit the holy grave."[2] However, regarding the general matter of visiting graves, Ibn Majah has narrated that the Prophet (s) said:

"زُورُوا القبُور فَإنَّها تُذكّرُكُمُ ألآخرَة"

"Visit the graves because the visiting of graves reminds you of the hereafter."

Also according to another narration by 'Aiyshah, the Prophet (s) gave permission for the *ziyarah* of the graves.[3]

Furthermore, according to a narration by Ibn Mas'ud, the Prophet (s) said:

"كُنتُ نَهَيتُكُم عَن زيارَة القُبورِ ، فَزوروها فانّها تُزهّدُ في الدنيا وَ تُذكِرُ الآخرة"

"I used to prohibit you from visiting graves, but visit them because the *ziyarah* of graves will free you from the attachment to this world, and will remind you of the hereafter."

1. Area or abode of the Prophet's (s) holy grave.
2. *Al-Mathahib Al-Islamiyyah,* p. 343.
3. *Sunan Ibn Maja,* vol. 1, p. 500.

Also in another narration the Prophet (s) says: "Visit the graves because they will remind you of death."[1]

Sakhawi says, "The Prophet (s) himself visited the graves and gave permission to his people to do the *ziyarah* of graves, even though he had actually forbidden the visiting of the graves before."

The *ziyarah* of the graves is *sunnah* and whoever does it obtains *thawab*.[2] A visitor (*of the graves) must not speak anything apart from good words and must not sit on the graves and disrespect them, and must not place the graves as his Qiblah. It has reached us by Hadith that the Prophet (s) visited the grave of his mother and the grave of 'Uthman bin Madhu'un and placed a sign on the grave of 'Uthman bin Madhu'un so that it can be distinguished among the other graves."

Sakhawi then says, "The reason as to why the *ziyarah* of graves is *mustahab* for men is generally agreed by all, and this reason has been quoted from Abdray. Also Nawasi has said, "This saying is the saying of all the scholars."

While talking about a Hadith from Abu Hurairah by the Prophet (s), Ibn Abd Al-Barr has mentioned the following in his book *Estidhkar*: "The Prophet (s) went to the cemetery and said:

"السّلامُ عليكُم دارَ قَومٍ مؤمنينَ وَ انّا ان شاء اللّهُ بِكم لاحِقونَ. نَسألُ اللّهَ لَنا وَ لَكم العافية"

According to the subject–matter of this Hadith going to the graves and doing *ziyarah* of the graves is permissible for men and this is generally agreed by all the scholars and Hadiths regarding this matter are numerous.

Nevertheless, the following has been written in Sahih Bukhari regarding women: "The Prophet (s) saw a woman crying near a grave and he told her: "Oh slave of God, be virtuous and be patient." The Prophet (s) did not renounce what that woman was doing, whereas if it were *haram* for women to do *ziyarah* of the graves and to cry near the

1. Ibid.
2. A good deed which you will be rewarded for.

graves, the Prophet (s) would have forbidden the woman from doing so."[1]

With regard to *ziyarah* in general (for men and women) Jalal Al-Din Siuti has quoted from Bayhaqi, who has quoted from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet (s) said the following about the martyrs of Uhud:

"اَشهدُ اَنَّ هولاُء شُهداء عنداللّهِ فاتَوُهُم وَزورُهمُ وَ الذي نفسي ِبيده لا يسَلِمُ عليهم اَحَد الی يومَ القيامة الاّ رَدّوا عليه"

"I bear witness that these are martyrs next to God, go to their graves and do *ziyarah*. I swear to the God, who has my life is in his hands, no one will send *salams* to them without them answering back." Hakim narrates a Hadith, which he believes to be correct, and Bayhaqi also narrates it and it states that the Prophet (s) went to do *ziyarah* of the martyrs of Uhud and said:

"اللّهمَّ انَّ عبدَكَ وَ نبيكَ يشهَدُ اَنّ هولاء شّهداءُ و اَنهُ مَن زارَهُمُ اَو سَلّمَ عليهم إلی يوم القيامة رَدّوا عليه"

"Oh God, verily your slave and Prophet bears witness that these are the martyrs of the true path and that whoever comes to do their *ziyarah* or sends *salams* to them (from today) till the Day of Judgement, they will answer his *salams*."[2]

Al-Waqidi says: "The Prophet (s) of Allah would visit the martyrs of Uhud every year and when he entered the cemetery he would say with a loud voice:

"السلامُ عليكُم ِبما صَبَرتُم فَنِعمَ عُقبی الدارِ"

Abu Bakr and Uthman also visited the graves of Uhud once a year. Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet (s), would go to Uhud every two to three days and cry and read *dua'*. Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas would enter from behind the graves and would send his *salams* three times.

Al-Waqidi also says, "When the Prophet (s) of Allah passed the grave of Mus'ab bin Umair (who is one of the martyrs of Uhud), he stood and read *dua'* and read this verse:

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1. Sakhawi Hanafi in the book *Tohfat Al-Ahbab*, p. 4-5.
2. *Al-Khasa'is al-Kubra, vol.* 1, pp. 546-547.

﴿ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُواْ مَا عَـٰهَدُواْ ٱللَّهَ عَلَيۡهِۖ فَمِنۡهُم مَّن قَضَىٰ نَحۡبَهُۥ وَمِنۡهُم مَّن يَنتَظِرُۖ وَمَا بَدَّلُواْ تَبۡدِيلاً ﴾

He then said: "I bear witness that on the Day of Judgement they are martyrs next to God. Come to them and do their *ziyarah* and send your Salaams to them. I swear to God who has my life is in his hands whoever sends their *salams* to them (*from now) till the Day of Judgement, they will answer it." [1]" Al-Waqidi also names a group of the Sahabah, who would go to do the *ziyarah* of Uhud and he has mentioned the manner and way in which they did their *ziyarah*.[2]

However, concerning the matter that the Shi'ah have closed down their mosques and have turned to the holy sites[3], one must say that this is also another one of the great accusations, which have been made about the Shi'ah from the olden times. The source of this accusation was at first the feeling of rebelliousness and vindictiveness towards the Shi'ah, and then it was some writers who noted down these accusations in their literary works without researching whether these accusations were correct or false, and this was because of the bad opinions they had about the Shi'ah. The truth of the matter is that, as the writer of the book *Tarikh Mathhabi Qum* states, the Shi'ah mosques from the beginning were a part of the most flourishing and splendorous Islamic mosques. Today one can find the most beautiful, magnificent and historical mosques of the world in Iran. These mosques have remained great from centuries ago till now.

Many stories are on the tip of people's tongues about the populous and magnificent *jama'at* (congregational) prayers which take place in the aforesaid mosques. At this moment in time in the cities, small towns and villages of Iran there are mosques, which have the best carpets and facilities. At prayer times the mosques are full of people performing prayers. Any traveller who comes to see Iran will undoubtedly see Tehran, the centre of Iran. In Tehran there are hundreds of mosques with the best facilities and many libraries. These

1. Surat Ahzaab, 24.
2. *Kitab Al– Maghazi*, vol. 1, p. 313-314.
3. An area where a martyr is buried.

mosques are never empty of people performing prayers, and in all of them congregational prayers take place at prayer times.

In addition to Tehran, in the cities of Mashad, Qum, Esfahan, Shiraz and other cities, which are visited by tourists, everybody can see the most magnificent, splendorous and great mosques, which are never empty at prayer times when congregational prayers are performed.

In general, whether we talk about Iran, which is the centre of the Shi'ah people, or any other places where the Shi'ah live, at no time was any mosque closed down. The splendour of the Shi'ah mosques, if not more than the other Islamic sects, is no less.

Performing prayers near the graves

There are several sayings found in Sahih Muslim with reference to the Prophet (s) performing prayers next to the graves.[1]

Ibn Athir states after mentioning the Hadith that:

"نُهِيَ عَن الصلوة في المقبرةِ"

"Performing prayer is prohibited and graveyards". "The reason for the renunciation is because the soil of the graveyard is mixed with blood, dirt and the impurity of the dead and if one performs prayers in a clean and pure area of the graveyard his prayers are correct." Ibn Athir then says, "The following Hadith: "لا تَجعَلوا بُيوتَكُم مقابر" -"Don't make your homes like graveyards." is similar to the previous Hadith and what is meant by 'don't make your homes like graveyards' is that your homes should not be like graveyards such that they are not prayed in, for a person who dies does not pray.
The following Hadith:

"اِجعلوا مِن صلا تِكُم في بُيوتِكُم ولا تَتَخِذوها قُبوُرا"

"Don't make your homes like graveyards where prayer is never performed but rather perform some of your prayers at home." confirms the aforesaid meaning. Some say what the Hadith means is

1. *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 55. Such as the Prophet (s) performed prayers on a grave after the dead person was buried in it and he said four Takbirs. Also in another narration: the Prophet came across a recent grave and he performed prayers on it and the companions lined up behind him.

don't make your homes like graveyards where performing prayers is not permissible. However, the first meaning is a better and more acceptable meaning."[1]

Shawkani has quoted from Khidabi from the book *Ma'alim Al-Sunan* and has talked about the permissibility of performing prayers in cemeteries. He also quotes from Hasan [Hasan Basri]: "He has performed prayers in a cemetery." He also says that "Rafi'i Thawri [sic: Sufiyyan al-Thawri], Awzae'i and Abu Hanifah believed that praying in a cemetery was *makruh* but Malik has said it is permissible."

Some of the companions of Malik have given reasons for this belief saying, "The Prophet (s) performed prayers near the grave of a poor black woman."[2] A short account of Malik's narration about this is that a poor woman became ill and the Prophet (s) told them, "When she dies inform me." But because the woman died at night they did not inform the Prophet (s), (and they buried the woman). When the morning of the next day came, the Prophet (s) went to her grave and prayed and said four *takbirs*[3-4]

Wailing and lamenting

Ibn Taymiyyah forbids lamenting and wailing for the dead and the Wahhabis believe these matters are great sins.[5] Even though according to the narration of Ahmad Hanbal and Bukhari when Umar was inflicted with a blow, Suhayb (Umar's servant) cried out: "Oh brother-oh sahib." Umar told him: "Haven't you heard the Prophet (s) say that a dead person is tormented by some of the crying that is done for him."

Ibn Abbas says, "When Umar died, I told 'Aiyshah of these words (*the aforesaid matter), she swore to God that the Prophet (s) has said

1. *Al-Nihayah,* vol. 4, p. 4.
2. *Nail Al-Awdar,* vol. 1, p. 136.
3. Glorification of God by saying 'God is great'.
4. *Moe'da Malik,* pp. 112-113. – This Hadith has also been quoted by Bukhari.
5. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 373.

no such words but rather the saying of the Prophet (s) was that the punishment of a *kafir* is increased by the crying of his family."[1]

Also Sahib has quoted from Anas bin Malik in his book *Muntaqa Al-Akhbar* that: "When the Prophet (s) passed away Fatimah ('a) said:

"يا اَبَتاه، اَجابَ رَبّاً دَعاهُ ، يا ابَتاه جَنَّةُ الفردوس مأواه – يا ابتاه الى جبريلَ نَنَعاهُ"

"O father! You answered the call of Lord. O father! The paradise of Ferdaws is your shelter. To Gabriel, we announce the deth of the Prophet (s)".

With reference to another narration from Anas, "Abu Bakr entered the room after the Prophet (s) died and put his mouth between the eyes of the Prophet (s) and he placed his hands on two sides of the holy Prophet's (s) face and said:

"وانبيائه، واخَلائه واصفيائه"

"…and His prophets, intimate friends and pure ones". This is narrated by Ahmad Hanbal."[2]

The Prophet (s) himself cried on numerous occasions for the loss of dear ones and friends. According to a narration from Ahmad Hanbal one example of this is that: "The Prophet (s) sat on one of his daughter's graves when she died and cried. On another occasion when he saw his grandson dying he cried."[3]

Also when the Prophet (s) saw his uncle Hamnzah dead in the battle of Uhud he cried and when he saw that he was mutilated and his body was cut up into pieces he cried out.[4] When Hamnzah was martyred Safiyyah the daughter of Abd Al-Muttalib was searching for his body. The Ansar[5] stopped her from doing so. The Prophet (s) said: "Let her be free to do as she wants." So, Safiyyah sat near her brother's body. Every time Safiyyah would shed tears, the Prophet (s) would shed tears with her and every time Safiyyah would cry out, the Prophet (s)

1. *Musnad Ahmad,* vol. 1, p. 41-42; *Musnad 'Umar* and *Sahih Bukhari,* vol. 2, p. 79.
2. *Montaqa Al-Akhbar*, compiled by Ibn Taymiyyah Hanbali (the grandfather of Ibn Taymiyyah), with Nail Al-Awdar, Shawkani, vol. 4, p. 161.
3. *Sahih Bukhari,* vol. 2, p. 96.
4. By Ibn Abd Al-Bir in the book *Isti'ab*, vol. 1, p. 274.
5. Helpers and friends of the Prophet (s).

would cry out with her.[1] Also every time Fatimah, the Prophet's (s) daughter, would cry for Hamnzah the Prophet (s) would cry with her. In addition when Ja'far bin Abi Talib was martyred in the Battle of Mowta, the Prophet went to Ja'far's wife, Asma Bint Umays, and gave his condolences. Then Fatimah entered crying and said: "Oh uncle." The Prophet (s) then said, "One must cry for a man like Ja'far."[2]

Nafe' has narrated from Ibn Umar that: "When the Prophet (s) came back from the battle of Uhud, the women of Ansar were crying for their husbands who were martyred in battle. The Prophet (s) said: "Hamnzah does not have a weeper, and then he slept. When he woke up, the women were occupied with crying and the Prophet (s) said the women that are crying today are crying for Hamnzah"."[3]

Ibn Hisham and Tabari have said the following regarding this matter: "One day the Prophet (s) passed by one of the houses of the Ansar who were from the family of Bani Abd Al-Ashal and Dhafar. Their cries and lamenting for their dead ones in the battle of Uhud could be heard from their house. The Prophet's (s) eyes swelled up with tears and he cried and said: "Hamnzah does not have a weeper." When Sa'ad bin Mu'ath and Usaid bin Khudhair returned to the house of Bani Abd Al-Ashal they ordered their wives to go and cry for Hamnzah."

Also it has been narrated from Ibn Ishaq that: "When the Prophet (s) returned from Uhud to Medinah, he encountered Hamna the daughter of Jahsh. The people gave the news of the death of her brother Abdullah bin Jahsh and Hamna said: "إنا لله وإنا اليه راجعون" and then asked for forgiveness for her brother. When she heard of the death of her uncle Hamnzah bin Abd Al-Muttalib and she repeated the same verse and asked for forgiveness for him. But when she heard of the death of her husband Mus'ab bin Umair, she cried out and wailed. When the Prophet (s) saw Hamna's fortitude when she heard of her

1. *Maghazi Waqidi*, vol. 1, p. 290 – "اذا بكت صفية يبكي و اذا نشجت ينشج".

2. *Isti'ab*, vol. 1, p. 212.

3. *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 2, p. 40 – Nuwayri says "When the Prophet (s) heard the sound of the Ansar crying for their dead ones, he cried and said: "Hamnzah does not have a weeper." *Nihayaht Al-Erab*, vol. 17, p. 110.

brothers and uncle's death and the loud mourning and wailing when she heard of her husband's death he said: "A husband has a different status in the eyes of his wife."[1]

Furthermore when Abu Bakr died, 'Aiyshah organised a mourning ceremony for him. 'Umar forbade her from doing so but 'Aiyshah and the other ladies did not listen. 'Umar then struck several blows to Abu Bakr's sister, Umm Farwa, such that the women who were mourning had no alternative but to disperse.[2]

The words of the Prophet (s) and the crying of the women

Waqidi has said: "When Sa'ad bin Rabi' was martyred at Uhud, the Prophet (s) returned to Medinah. Then he proceeded to travel to Hamra Al-Asad." Jabir bin Abdullah said, "One morning when I was in the service of the Prophet (s) and we were talking about the deceased of the Muslims, Sa'ad bin Rabi' was brought to mind. The Prophet (s) told us to get up. We were twenty people and we accompanied the Prophet (s) to the house of Sa'ad bin Rabi'. There was no carpet there and we sat on the floor. The Prophet (s) talked about Sa'ad bin Rabi' and asked for forgiveness for him. He said things about him such as: "I saw on that day that spears made holes in his body until he was martyred." When the women heard these words they cried and the Prophet (s) also shed tears. The Prophet (s) did not prohibit the women from crying."[3]

The beliefs of Shafi'i on this matter

Shafi'i has written in his book *Al-Umm*, under the title of "بُكاءُ الحي على الميت" "The Crying of the Living for the Dead" that: "They asked 'Aiyshah about the words of Abdullah bin Umar, which stated that a dead person is tormented by the crying of the living.

1. *Sirah Al-Nabi*. vol. 3, p. 50; and *Tarikh Tabari*, vol. 3, p. 1425, first segment.
2. *Tarikh Tabari*, vol. 4, pp. 2131-2132, first segment.
3. *Al-Maghazi*, vol. 1, pp. 329-330. –Diyyar Bakri said, "After the lamenting that was done for Hamzah, the Prophet (s) prohibited lamenting. The morning of the following day the wives of the Ansar went to the Prophet (s) and said we have heard you have prohibited lamenting, however we feel calmness when we lament and cry for our dead ones." The Prophet (s) said: "Whenever you lament don't slap your faces, don't scratch your faces, don't shave the hair on your head, and don't rend your collar." *Tarikh Al-Khamis*, vol. 1, p. 444.

‘Aiyshah said: “Ibn Umar has not lied but he is mistaken or has been affected by forgetfulness. (The original hadith is) The Prophet (s) passed by the corpse of a Jewish lady while her relatives were crying for her. The Prophet (s) said: “They (*her relatives) cry and she is punished in her grave.”

Ibn Abbas said, “When Umar was struck I heard Suhayb crying and saying: “Oh brother, oh *sahib.*” Umar said to him: “You are crying for me even though the Prophet (s) has said that a dead person is tormented by the cries of his family for him”.” Ibn Abbas said: “When Umar died I said these words to ‘Aiyshah. ‘Aiyshah said: “I swear to God that the Prophet (s) has said no such words, but has said that God increases the punishment of a *kafir* with the cries of his family for him.” Then ‘Aiyshah said: “The Qur’an is enough for you where it has written

﴿ وَلَا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَىٰ ﴾

“and no bearer shall bear another’s burden.”[1]

Ibn Abbas also said:

﴿وَأَنَّهُۥ هُوَ أَضْحَكَ وَأَبْكَىٰ﴾

“and that it is He Who granteth laughter and tears”[2]. After Shafi’i mentions the aforesaid matters he proves the incorrectness of the saying "...إن الميت ليعذب" –verily, the dead will be punished using Qur’anic verses and Hadiths.[3]

10- Swearing by anything other than God

Ibn Taymiyyah says: “The scholars unanimously agree that swearing by great creations such as the Arsh[4], Kursi[5], Ka’bah and angels is not permissible. Famous scholars such as Abu Hanifah and Ahmad bin Hanbal have the same opinion in one of his two beliefs, which is that swearing by the Prophet (s) is not permissible and swearing either by the Prophet (s) or any of God’s creations is not accepted or held (this

1. Surat al-An‘am, verse 164.
2. Taken from Surah Najm verse 43.
3 *Kitab Al-Umm Al-Shafe’i,* vol. 8, p. 537.
4. Celestial throne.
5. The throne/the divine seat (not literally).

means it has no religious effect) and not holding to it requires no *kaffara* (*expiation). This is because according to a correct and sound saying it has been proven that the Prophet (s) said: "Do not swear to anything apart from God." Also there is another narration which states that whoever wants to swear by something should swear by God or keep silent. According to another narration, falsely swearing by God is better than swearing truthfully by anything other than God. He also says that swearing by anything other than God is *shirk*."[1]

"Some people say that swearing by the Prophet (s) is an exception and believe it is permissible. One of the two sayings of Ahmad Hanbal is the same as this belief, and a number of the companions of Ahmad have accepted this saying. Others believe that swearing by any Prophet is permissible. However, the belief of the people, which is that swearing by any of God's creatures is prohibited and there is no exception, is more correct."[2]

Ibn Qayyim, who is a very close student and fellow worker of Ibn Taymiyyah, says: "Swearing by anything other than God is one of the great sins. The Prophet (s) has said: "Whoever swears by anything other than God, he has committed *shirk* to God." Therefore, swearing by anything other than God is one of the biggest great sins."[3]

Swearing by anything other than God

The late Allamah Amini has said, "The writer of the thesis's that states that all the scholars unanimously agree that it is prohibited to swear by anything other than God, is nothing more than idle talk. This is because he only quoted the sayings of Abu Hanifah, Abu Yusuf, Ibn Abd Al-Salam and Qadduri to prove his claims. It seems that all the scholars of Islam in all the ages and in all the kingdoms and cities are restricted to these four. Why has he not quoted the words of Shafi'i, Malik and Ahmad Hanbal and why has he not pointed out the Fatwas of the numerous scholars who only God knows how many they are?"

1. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, p. 22.
2. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 164; and *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 351.
3. *A'alam al-Mawqi'ayn*, vol. 4, p. 403.

"The truth is that swearing to anything other than God is neither *makruh*[1] nor *haram* but is an admirable act and is *mustahab* and we have narrations regarding this matter." The late Amini then quotes some narrations regarding this matter from the Sihah books.[2]

Allamah Amini has also said, "Swearing by anything other than God has been done since the olden times until today, and it has been done by God himself, by the Prophet (s), by the Sahabah and followers of the Prophet (s) and by all the Muslims. God has sworn by many of his creations in the Qur'an. Also the Prophet (s) and his Sahabah and followers swore on their life or on someone else's life and on different things on many occasions." The late Amini has mentioned many of these matters with their sources.[3]

He has also said, "The Hadiths related to the prohibition of swearing by anything other than God indicate either disapproval or that the vow or oath will not be held and are prohibitory Hadiths. Such swearing is *makruh* according to the Shafi'i sect, not *haram*. The Wahhabis believe themselves to be followers of Ahmad Hanbal but Ahmad Hanbal has given a *fatwa* on the permissibility of swearing by the Prophet (s)."

Shi'rani says, quoting from Ahmad: "If someone swears by the holy Prophet (s), his oath is held, and also swearing by someone or something other than the Prophet (s) is accepted and the oath is held."[4]

11- Visiting honoured burial places and holy sites

Ibn Taymiyyah says: "Travelling to honourable burial places is a type of Hajj. Every nation has had a pilgrimage. For example, the polytheist Arabs went on a pilgrimage to visit their idols Lat, Uzza and Menat and other idols. Therefore, travelling to these types of burial places is like someone going on pilgrimage and is just like the *mushriks* of different nations who go on a pilgrimage to visit their Gods."[5]

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1. Disapproved yet not prohibited.
2. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, pp. 330-336.
3. Ibid, pp. 330-336.
4. Ibid, p. 342.
5. *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 57.

Ibn Taymiyyah also says, "The innovators of religion go to visit the graves of Prophets and pious people on the basis that it is a pilgrimage. Their *ziyarah* is not a religiously lawful *ziyarah* because their intention isn't to read *dua'* for the owner of the grave (*i.e. dead person) but rather their intention is to honour the dead one for the reason that he has a high status, rank and position next to God. Their intention is to call the dead person or to call God when they are near the grave or to ask the dead people inside the graves for their needs to be granted."[1]

According to the interpretation of Ibn Taymiyyah, people who go to visit graves (or 'go on Hajj towards the graves') have the same intention that the *mushriks* have when worshipping creations idols, and they request things from their idols just like the people who profess to God's unity (monotheists) request from God.

12- About the Shi'ah

Ibn Taymiyyah says: "The journey that the *mushriks* and *kafirs* go on to visit burial places and honoured graves is their Hajj, and the intention they have by the humility they show and supplication they do near the graves is the same intention the Muslims have when carrying out acts for the sake of God. People who commit innovations and who deviate from religion, including Muslims, such as the *rafidha*, also believe that travelling to the holy sites and the graves of their great people and their Imams is their Hajj. There are people who call out when they travel to holy sites and graves and say: "We go to the great Hajj", and they carry a flag like the flag of Hajj and the public crier invites the people to go on Hajj. The flag that they carry is like the flag that the Muslims carry when going on pilgrimage to Maccah. This sect calls the journey to some of God's the big Hajj and the pilgrimage to God's House (*Mecca) the small Hajj."[2]

Ibn Taymiyyah mentions somewhere else that some people believe that travelling to some places is like Hajj, but he does not say who these people are, to which sect they belong or what religion they follow. For example, he says that: "Some people go on Hajj to a place where one of the Awliyyah' Allah has descended, and they wear

1. Ibid, p. 59.
2. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir fi Zowwar Al-Maqabir*, pp. 37-38.

Ihram (*pilgrims clothes) and say *Labbayk* (*here I am), like some of the shayks in Egypt do. One particular shaykh would go to the Mosque of Yusuf as his Hajj and would wear Ihram. The same shaykh also went to visit the Prophet's (s) grave as his Hajj and he returned to Egypt without going to Maccah and without performing the acts of Hajj."[1]

The explanation of the aforesaid matters

It has been said again and again that *Hajj* in the eyes of the Shi'ah, is only the Hajj to God's house in Maccah and apart from this nothing else is known as Hajj or is known to be in the same status as Hajj. This is one of the firm facts that exist in the Shi'ah *fiqh* and whoever has the least knowledge of the Shi'ah *fiqh* is aware of this. Furthermore, to consider other places like the Ka'bah and to perform acts in such places and to believe that carrying out these acts means to perform Hajj has been performed done several times by people who are far removed from the Shi'ah and who are known as the enemies of the Shi'ah. For example according to the writings of Ya'qubi, who was a well-known writer in the third century, "Abd Al-Malik bin Marwan forbade the people from going to Hajj when he was at war with Abdullah Zubair because Abdullah Zubair would make the Hajji's of Damascus do *bay'at* (swear allegiance) with him. The people complained and wailed and told Abd Al-Malik: "Hajj is a religious duty but you are forbidding us from preforming it?" Abd al-Malik answered: "It is Ibn Shahab Zahari that narrates the following from the Prophet (s):

"لا تُشدُ الرِّحال اِلاّ إلى ثَلاثةِ مَساجِدَ : المَسجِدُ الحَرامُ وَ مَسجِدِي ومَسجد بيتِ المقدَس"

"Do not travel apart from travelling to these three mosques: Masjid Al-Haram, my Mosque and Masjid Al-Aqsa (*mosque of Jerusalem)." Therefore according to this narration Masjid Al-Aqsa is in the place of

1. *Kitab Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i,* p. 159. – The writer of *Fath Al-Majid* says, "Some of the people who perform Hajj to the graves, do *taqsir* (*shortening-one of the rites of Hajj) and shave their heads so that their Hajj can become complete." But he has not said who these people are and where they are from.

Masjid Al-Haram and this rock which the Prophet (s) stepped on when ascension to heaven is instead of the Ka'bah."

Abd Al-Malik then ordered that brocaded curtains be hung on this rock (like the curtains of the Ka'bah). He also appointed doorkeepers and servants for it. The people went round the rock just like they go round the Ka'bah and in all the days that Bani Umayyah were in power this tradition was carried out."[1]

What is evident is that this souvenir left behind by Abd Al-Malik Marwan took place until around several centuries after the fall of Bani Umayyah. Nasir Khosro, the well-known world explorer, says among his descriptions of the city of Jerusalem, "The people of Damascus and the people of that that area, called Bayt Al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem) Quds (Jerusalem). If the people, who live in those countries cannot go to Hajj they go to Jerusalem at the same time as Hajj time and stay there and offer a sacrifice just as it is customary in Hajj. Every year more than twenty thousand people go there at the beginning of the month of Dhil Hijja and they take their children there and carry out this tradition."[2]

Also Mutawakil Abbasi (who tried to drown the grave of Imam Husain (AS) in Karbala and wipe it out of history by diverting the waters of the Euphrates River to Imam Husayn's ('a) grave) built a Ka'bah in the city of Samara in Iraq. He placed it so that the people may circle around it and he named two places as Mina and Arafat[3]. He did this so that when the princes of the army would go to pilgrimage they would not be far from him.[4]

If other cases are also found they are of the same kind mentioned above. There is no precedent of such actions by any of the followers of the Shi'ah sect or people who are inclined to this sect.

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1. *Tarikh Ya'qubi*, vol. 2, p. 261.
2. Safar-Nameh (*itinerary), p. 24.
3. Two areas in Maccah where particular Hajj rites are carried out.
4. *Ahsan Al-Taqasim*, p. 122.

Another explanation of the ziyarah of the graves in the opinion of the Shi'ah

As previously mentioned, these thoughts and unjust and incorrect opinions attributed to the Shi'ah are brought on by the prejudice and fights the Sunni and Shi'ah rulers had against each other in the previous centuries, especially in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries thereby giving an opportunity to some spiteful and vindictive persons to poison the minds against the Shi'ah even further, and to provoke prejudiced rulers to express their enmity with the Shi'ah and create strange accusations.

If anyone has a very slight knowledge of the Shi'ah *fiqh* and of the traditions related to the *ziyarah* of the blessed holy sites, which is customary for the Shi'ah and has been carried out from the olden times until now, they will notice very well that apart from accepting *ziyarah* as a *mustahab* matter, the Shi'ah have no other opinions on this matter. Also they do not do anything apart from reading *dua'* and sending *salams*. This type of *ziyarah* is permissible in the eyes of all the Sunni sects and they themselves also carry out these traditions when they visit graves. The Shi'ah books on *fiqh* and Hadith exist abundantly and are available to all. It is impossible for a Shi'ah scholar to call a *ziyarah* journey Hajj or to believe that the *ziyarah* of a particular grave is like performing Hajj. If one carefully reads the Shi'ah books on *fiqh* and Hadith it will be made very clear how much the Shi'ah find Hajj great and important and how much care and caution is taken so that this great religious duty is carried out correctly and in accordance with the *sunnah* of the Prophet (s). This caution and care is seen and sensed every year at the time of Hajj when tens of thousands of Shi'ah people travel to Hajj from Iran and other places.

There is a question to be asked here, which perhaps many of the Shi'ah opponents in the past have not paid attention to, and that is: Who are the Shi'ah.

It seems that Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers such as the Wahhabis have mistaken the Shi'ah with the Ghulat and other sects, some of which the Shi'ah believe to be *kafir*. In addition, it must be said with regret that some of the followers of the four sects have also committed this mistake, and they have made unjust and irrational accusations to the Shi'ah without finding out who the Shi'ah really are and because

of what they think of the Shi'ah due to their lack of knowledge. What is just and fair is for these people to firstly notice that the Shi'ah obtain their vast *fiqh*, beliefs and opinions wholly from the Prophet (s) and their Imams who belong to the household of the Prophet (s), who in turn get their *fiqh*, beliefs and opinions from the Prophet (s).

The leaders of the four factions of the Sunni sect admit to the knowledge, perfection, truthfulness, *taqwa*[1] and other great qualities of the Shi'ah Imams, and they know them to be closer to the Prophet (s) with regard to their relationship with the Prophet (s) and with regard to acquiring knowledge from the Prophet (s). Even Ibn Taymiyyah himself, as we have pointed out before, has sometimes relied on the sayings of the Shi'ah Imams and has sought help from the Shi'ah *fiqh*. Taking this matter and similar matters into consideration, which are clear to any person who is unprejudiced and a seeker of truth, how is it possible for the followers of a sect whose leaders are closer than anyone else to the Prophet (s) and to the truths and facts of religion to have beliefs against the definite principles of Islam and to have beliefs which are far from the teachings of the great Prophet (s) of Islam? That being for example the abandoning of Hajj when in fact, according to the Shi'ah, the belief that Hajj is not *wajib* is *kufr*.

In any case, that which is evident is that at the time when the fights and enmities between the Shi'ah and Sunni rulers reached a peak, anyone who did anything against the principles of Islam would be declared a Shi'ah. After poisoning the minds of the people against the Shi'ah they would represent any usual act in a contrary way. For example, the statement quoted by Ibn Taymiyyah, which said that the *rafidha* carry a flag like the flag carried in Hajj when they go on *ziyarah* and they call people to do Hajj, is almost certainly an old tradition that was carried out to make the people aware of everything by a herald and public crier when travelling along with a caravan. This was so that anyone who wanted to travel, be it for the purpose of trading or *ziyarah* or other matters, could get ready for any advance. This tradition, which existed before engine-driven vehicles were customary, was probably customary throughout world. It was carried

1. Piety/God fearing.

out because of the conditions of the routes at those times, which involved dangers for travellers who journeyed alone.

This simple and normal matter was portrayed in the above way by the enemies of the Shi'ah. Therefore people, who opposed the Shi'ah beliefs and who lived far from the areas where the Shi'ah lived, thought it was the truth.

A less impartial way to find out what a sect or religion believes in is to read their correct and trustworthy books or to associate with them and speak with their scholars and well informed people – not to find out whom they are by thoughts and suspicions that have been suggested by spiteful or uninformed people.

It is a certainty that the *ziyarah* of the graves of great ones is *mustahab* according to the beliefs of the Shi'ah. Their *ziyarah* is nothing apart from reading *dua'* based on *tawhid* and sending *salams* to the owner of the grave and stating his virtues. To inform those people, who are still mistaken by what the *ziyarah* of the Shi'ah entails, we will give a sample of one *dua'* and *dhikr*[1] the Shi'ah read when doing *ziyarah* of the graves of great people. All the visitors of Ali bin Musa Al-Rida ('a), who is buried in Khorasan (*eastern province of Iran), read the following sentences when they enter his burial place:

"بسمِ اللّه وَ باللّه وفي سَبيل اللّه وعلى ملة رسول اللّه (ص) اشهد ان لا اله الا اللّه وحدَهُ لا شريكَ لَه و اشهدُ انَ محمداً عبدهُ ورَسولهُ اللّهمَّ صَلِّ على محمد و آلِ محمدٍ"

"In the Name of God, on the way of Allah; peace be upon the creed of the Messenger of Allah (s). I bear witness that there is no god, but Allah, He is alone and has partner and I bear witness that Muhammad is His servent and His Messenger. O Allah may your blessing be upon servent and His Messenger. O Allah may your blessing be upon Muhammad and his household".

Also, one *dua'* that they read there is the *ziyarah*[2] of the dead who are buried, which is as follows:

1. Invocation of God.
2. Series of traditional prayers.

"اَلّسلامُ على اهل الديار مِنَ المسلمين وَالمؤمنينَ من اهل لا اله الا اللّه رَحِمَ اللّهُ المستقدمين مِنّا و المستأخرينَ و انا إن شاء اللّه بكم لا حقون اَلسلامُ علَيكُم و رحمةُ اللّه و بَرَكاته"

"Peace be upon Muslim and believing inhabitants of there is no god, but Allah. May All have mercy on our formers and latters. We will, God-willing, join you. Pace be upon you all.

Also the *dua'* of forgiveness is read, which is as follows:

"استغفر الله الذي لا اله الا هو الحَي القيوم الرحمن الرحيم ذوالجلال و الاكرام و اتوب اليه و اسئله ان يصلّي على محمد وآل محمد و ان يتوب عليَّ توبة عبد ذليل خاضع خاشع فقير مسكين مستكين لا يملك لنفسه نفعاً و لا ضراً و لا موتاً و لا حياتاً ولا نشوراً"

I seek God's forgiveness who there is no god except Him is the Living One, the All-merciful, Lord of Majesty and honor, I repent to Him, I ask Himto send His peace be upon Muhammad and his household, He accepts my repentance of

Invocations read whilst visiting graves are of the kind you have observed above. Sahifa Sajjadiyya is the most important of the *dua'* and *dhikr* books the Shi'ah have. If one pays attention to the subject matter of the invocations mentioned in this book, one will notice that pure truth, *tawhid*, true servitude and worship of God and humility before God is presented in such a way that it cannot be found anywhere except in very few passages. When visiting the holy sites, scholars and righteous men read invocations from Sahifa Sajjadiyya.

Mughniyyah has stated the passages the Shi'ah read from Sahifa Sajjadiyyah, which are read in the morning and afternoon and while visiting graves of Imams and great ones. They are as follows:

"إلهي من حاول سد حاجته من عندك فقد طلب حاجته في مظانها وإنّي طلبته من جهتها إلى أحد من خلقك او جعل سبب نجحها دونك فقد تعرض للحرمان و استحق من عندك فوات الاحسان"

But he who turns in his need toward one of your creatures or assigns the cause of its being granted to other than you, has exposed himself to deprivation and deserves to miss your beneficence.

Another *dua'* is:

"إلهي خاب الوافدون على غيرك وخسر المتعرضون الا لك وضاع الملمّون الا بك واجدب المنتجعون الا من انتجع فضلك"

O God, cried in anguish, frightened and agitated, these who stayed and took shelter anywhere other than You, went waste efforts of those who tried to profit from that which they came across instead of having the wholesome benfit from You.

Also another *dua'* is:

"تباركت وتعاليت لا اله الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك آمنت بك وصدقت رسلك وقبلت كتابك وكفرت بكل معبود غيرك وبرئت ممن عبد سواك"

I have faith in You, I attest to your messengers. I accept your Book. I disbelieve in every object of worship other than You, I am quit of anyone who worships another.

The Shi'ah rules of *ziyarah* state that one should read Qur'an when visiting holy sites and devote its divine reward to the soul of the dead person. If while doing *ziyarah* it becomes time for prayer and in a nearby mosque there is *jama'at* prayers, one must cut off one's *ziyarah* and go and pray in congregation. In holy sites idle talk and unworthy words are not spoken and worldly matters are also not spoken of. The visitor should give money to the poor and help the needy and not stay in the burial place for a long time.

The manner in which one should do the ziyarah of the Prophet's (s) holy grave according to the Shi'ah

When a visitor enters the mosque and performs two *rak'ats*[1] of prayer in salutation to the mosque (**tahiyyat al-masjid*), he should stand next to the pillar on the right hand side of the holy grave towards the Qiblah. He should stand in such a way that his left shoulder is towards the grave and his right shoulder towards the pulpit and he should recite these words:

"اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمد عبده و رسوله و اشهد انك رسول الله و انك محمد بن عبد الله واشهد انك قد بلغت رسالات ربك ونصحت لامتك و جاهدت في سبيل الله و عبدت الله حتى آتاك اليقين بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة وأدّيت الذي عليك من الحق وانّك قد رؤفت بالمؤمنين وغلظت على الكافرين فبلغ الله بك أفضل شرف محل المكرمين الحمد الله الذي استنقذنا بك من الشرك والضلالة اللهم فاجعل صلواتك وصلوات ملائكتك المقربين وانبيائك المرسلين وعبادك الصالحين واهل السماوات والارضين ومن سبح لك يا رب العالمين من الأولين والآخرين على محمد عبدك ورسولك ونبيك وأمينك ونجيبك وحبيبك و فيك وخاصتك وصفوتك وخيرتك، اللهم اعطه الدرجة الرفيعة وآته الوسيلة من الجنة وابعثه مقاماً محموداً يغبطه من الأوّلون والآخرون اللهم انك قلت و لو انهم اذ ظلموا انفسهم جاوك فاستغفروا الله واستغفر لهم الرسول لوجدوا الله تواباً رحيماً وإنّي اتيتك مستغفراً تائباً من ذنوبي وإنّي اتوجه بك إلى الله ربّي وربك ليغفر لي ذنوبي"

Other *ziyarats* of the Shi'ah are similar to those above and are found in detail in books of *dua'* and *dhikr*. We mentioned some of these passages earlier on.

13- The graves of pious people

Ibn Taymiyyah says: "Some people think that the graves of Prophets and pious people who are buried in their cities and countries cause

1. Unit of prayer.

their city or country to be protected from danger and misfortune. For example, the people of Baghdad are protected from and immune to misfortune due to the graves of Ahmad Hanbal, Bashar Hafi and Mansur bin Ammar. Likewise, the people of Damascus are protected because of the graves of the Prophets such as Prophet Abraham (‘a)).[1] Also the people of Egypt are protected by the graves of Nafisa and some others. Similarly the residents of Hejaz are protected by the grave of the Prophet (s) and the buried ones in the Baqi’ Cemetery. All of these are incorrect and wrong and are against the religion of Islam. They are also against the Qur’an, Sunnah and the general opinions of all. The existence of a grave in an area has no effect in protecting anyone from accidents and the presence of the Prophet (s) brought safety only when he was living, not after his death.”[2]

“People who believe that they can profit from the existence of graves and that calamities can be eliminated from their lives due to these graves have placed the graves in the same status as idols. Their belief that these graves can cause benefit or loss is the same belief that the idol worshippers have regarding their idols.[3]

14- The construction of buildings on and around graves and the need to demolish them[4]

Ibn Taymiyyah says: “A mosque is only built so that one can worship God inside it and one cannot build mosques near the graves of humans or build a mosque for the sake of these creatures. Also, one cannot travel to the dwelling places (this means the cemetery) of these created beings.”[5]

Regarding the graves of the Baqi’ and other graves, Ibn Taymiyyah also says: “If matters such as reading *dua’*, reading supplications, asking for ones needs, *estighathah* and matters of the same kind take place near graves, it must be forbidden and stopped. Furthermore, what is built as a mosque around graves must be demolished and if the

1. The area of Sham consisted of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine until World War I, and its division to the four countries is related to after the war.
2. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, p. 83.
3. *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna‘i,* p. 56.
4. We will discuss this matter in detail when studying the Wahhabi beliefs.
5. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, pp. 38-37.

aforesaid matters are still carried out then the traces of the graves must be wiped out and there must be no indication of the grave's existence left behind."[1]

15- Placing a prayer mat underneath you for prayer

Ibn Taymiyyah says: "If one throws a prayer mat underneath himself with the intention of wanting to pray on it, his act is against the *sunnah* of the Salaf (*companions and followers), Muhajirin (*immigrants), Ansar (supporters and helpers) and the Tabi'in (*followers). This is because these people would pray on the ground and none of them had a prayer mat that was specifically used for praying. Malik has said that throwing a prayer mat underneath you when you pray is an innovation in religion."[2]

He also says, "The Prophet (s) did not pray on a prayer mat. The Sahabah prayed both bear footed and with shoes, and they prayed on soil and rush mats and these kinds of things."[3]

16- Estighathah and tawassul to the Prophet (s) and placing the Prophet (s) as one's intercessor and asking for one's needs

With regard to the aforesaid matters Ibn Taymiyyah says that: "If a person visits the Prophet's (s) grave with the intention of requesting his needs and not to read *dua'* or send *salams*, and if this person raises his voice near the grave for want of his needs, he has annoyed the Prophet (s), has committed *shirk* towards God, and has done an injustice to himself."

Ibn Taymiyyah says here: "The Hadith from the Prophet (s), which we quoted before and which said: "Whoever visits my grave after my departure is like someone who has visited me in my lifetime" is made up, rejected and counted as a weak Hadith."[4]

Concerning the matter of performing *tawassul* to the owner of the grave, he says, "Some of the visitors of graves visit with the intention of obtaining their needs and, because they believe that this dead

1. *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 99.
2. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 2, p. 33.
3. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 131.
4. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir*, p. 50.

person is closer to God, they place the dead person as an intermediary between them and God. For the dead they make *nathr* and offer sacrifices and present these as gifts to the owner of the grave. Some of the visitors specify a portion of their wealth for the owner of the grave. Some others visit the grave out of their fondness and love for the dead person and they believe the journey towards the grave is the same as the journey towards the owner of the grave (*the dead person) when he was alive. Also, when they do *ziyarah* of a grave of someone they like, they feel calmness and assurance inside themselves. Such people are like idol worshippers who believe their idols are God."[1]

The explanation of tawassul (seeking help from and resorting) to the Prophet (s)

Samhudi has quoted from Subki that: "Sometimes mentioning a beloved one causes a prayer to be granted and this can be interpreted as *tawassul*, *estighathah*, intercession or resorting. Sometimes humans resort to and seek help from someone who has a high status and position in the eyes of someone who is greater than them."

Tawassul was carried out and done many times in the lifetime of the Prophet (s). An example of this is mentioned by Tirmithi, who has quoted from Ibn Hunaif, who has narrated that: "The Prophet (s) ordered a blind man to read this *dua'*:

"اللهم إنّي اسئلك و اتوجه اليك بنبيك محمد نبي الرحمة يا محمد إنّي توجهت بك إلى ربي في حاجتي لتقضي لي اللهم شفعه لي"

"Oh God I request from you, and resort to you via your Prophet, Muhammad (s), who is a Prophet of mercy. I appeal to you, oh Muhammad. I resort to my God through you so that you may grant my needs. Oh God, place Muhammad as my intercessor."

Dabrani has narrated a similar Hadith about a man who, after the death of the Prophet (s) and at the time of 'Uthman bin 'Affan, desired

1. *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i*, p. 59. – Ibn Taymiyyah has also said: "Whoever calls upon a dead person he must be made to ask for forgiveness and if he does not do so, his throat must be slit." *Majum'at Al-Rasail*, vol. 1, p. 315.

that his need be granted. 'Uthman bin Hunaif, who was mentioned before, guided him and told him to read the aforesaid invocation.

Also, we have another narration which is from Bayhaqi and which states that at the time of Umar the people sought help and resorted to the grave of the Prophet (s) because of a draught that had occurred. A man stood in front of the holy grave and said:

"يا رسول الله استسق لامتك فإنهم قد هلكوا"

"Oh Prophet (s), request water from God for your people because they have perished due to the lack of water).[1]"

Maliki (the leader of the Maliki sect) told Abu Ja'far in the middle of a debate session in the Prophet's (s) mosque, to stand in the direction of the Prophet's (s) grave and to place the Prophet (s) as his intercessor.

Also, Umar sought help from and resorted to Abbas, who was the Prophet's (s) uncle, and said:

"اللهم كنا نتوسل اليك بنبينا فتسقينا و انا نتوسل اليك بعم نبينا فاسقنا"

"Oh God, when there was a draught we would resort to your Prophet (s) and You would quench our thirst, now we resort to your Prophet's uncle that You quench our thirst."[2]

According to another narration 'Umar said, "Place Abbas as your channel to God." Ibn Taymiyyah has said himself that: "The Sahabah of the Prophet (s) would do *tawassul* to the Prophet (s) in his lifetime. After the death of the Prophet (s) they would do *tawassul* to Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet (s), in the same way they did to the holy Prophet (s) in his lifetime." He has also said that: "Ahmad Hanbal would do *tawassul* to the Prophet (s) in his invocations." and that in one of his two beliefs he says that "It is permissible to swear to the Prophet (s) and to do *tawassul* to him."[3]

These and similar cases, which have been found in Sihah and other reliable books of the four sects, show that doing *tawassul* to the

1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 4, from p. 1471 onwards.
2. *Sahih Bukhari,* vol. 2, p. 33.
3. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 351.

Prophet (s) and requesting his intercession, and also *tawassul* to people other than Prophets such as Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet (s), was the custom of the Salaf[1].

The words of Nabhani about estighathah and tawassul

Shaykh Yusuf bin Ismail Nabhani has quoted the following from Subki: "It is permissible and counted as a good act to place the Prophet (s) as your intercessor and to do *tawassul* and *estighathah* to him. This matter is obvious and clear to every religious person and it has taken place by Prophets and messengers and is the custom of the Salaf Salih, scholars and the common Muslims."

In any case *tawassul* to the Prophet (s) is believed to be permissible, whether it was before he was created or after it, and whether it was in the lifetime of the Prophet (s) or after his death, and whether it is in the world of *barzakh*[2] or after the occurrence of the Day of Judgement and the opening of heaven.

Doing *tawassul* to the Prophet (s) means to place the Prophet's (s) status, position and blessing as a facility and a means so that one's needs are granted. These three types of *tawassul* (status, position and blessing) are permissible and for each one of them a correct and sound narration has been received. This act can be interpreted as *tawassul*, *estighathah* or intercession there is no difference.

With regard to this matter Nabhani himself says that: "Even though all the people that go to visit graves and the pious slaves of God – especially the Prophets ('a) and messengers of God and particularly the great Prophet (s) of Islam– do *estighathah* and during their *ziyarah* try to honour these people to the utmost degree, they know that these people are slaves of God and are not in charge of the occurrence of profit or loss for themselves or others. Nevertheless, they are the most loved and closest slaves of God, who have been placed as the advertisers of religion and religious laws, and have been placed as intermediates between God and his slaves by God himself. The slaves of God, who believe in the prophetic mission of the Prophets and their selection by God, place these chosen ones, who are the closest to God

1. Ancestor.
2. The interval between death and resurrection.

out of all of God'slaves, as a means to the forgiveness of their sins and mistakes and the granting of their needs."

Knowing that it is permissible to travel to do *ziyarah* of the holy Prophet's (s) grave and to do *estighathah* to him is a necessity (*i.e. a Muslim is required to know this) of religion according to the belief of all the scholars and common Muslims. Also, Subki and Ibn Hajar have quoted from some Maliki leaders that they believed that the people who forbade travelling to visit the Prophet's (s) grave and doing *estighathah* were *kafir*.

It is a well-known matter to all Muslims that the Faqihs, narrators of traditions, speakers, the Sufi sect and others, whether noble classed or common Muslims, from all the Islamic sects, completely and unanimously believe that *tawassul*, *estighathah* and *tashafu'*[1] to the Prophet (s) for the granting of their worldly and other worldly needs is laudable and *mustahab*. It is also well-known that all agree unanimously that to travel to visit the Prophet's (s) grave, from far or close regions, is *mustahab*. This is a matter, which is obvious in religion because of the amount of times it (*travelling to visit the Prophet -s-) has been carried out and because everyone carries it out, and no one is ignorant of this matter and no one believes otherwise. As always, those who live now have obtained these beliefs from those who have passed. It used to be and still is believed to be one of the best acts of worship. If a few scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah and one or two of his students believe otherwise, there are thousands of more knowledgeable scholars, who can stand before each one of them and repudiate their views. This in itself is enough to say that the truth is with the majority and following it is obligatory. If *tawassul* (according to what Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers say) were *shirk*, it would not have been performed by the Prophet (s), his companions and the Salaf and Khalaf[2] of his people. All of these people did *tawassul*. One *dua'* of the Prophet (s) is as follows:

"اللهم إنّي اسالك بحق السائلين عليك"

"O God, I ask You by those who ask You."

1. To place someone as your intercessor.
2. Ancestors and successors.

This *dua'* is evidently *tawassul*. The Prophet (s) taught this *dua'* to his companions and instructed them to read it.

Ibn Majah has narrated, from correct sources and documents from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri that the Prophet (s) said, "Whoever leaves his house on the intention of going to pray and says:

"اللهم إنّي اسالك بحق السائلين عليك و اسالك بحق ممشاي هذا اليك فإنّي لم اخرج اشراً و لا بطراً و لا رياءً و لا سمعةً خرجت اتقاء سخطك و ابتغاء رضاتك فاسالك ان تعيذني من النار وان تغفر لي ذنوبي فإنّه لا يغفر الذنوب الا انت"

God will pay attention to such a person and seventy thousand angels will ask for forgiveness for him." The above Hadith has been mentioned by Jalal Al-Din Siuti and also by many religious scholars. Some say that all the Salaf would read this *dua'* when they left their house for prayer. Also you can see that in the saying of the Prophet (s) which says: "بحق السائلين عليك" the Prophet (s) has resorted and sought help from every *mu'min*[1] in this saying. The aforesaid Hadith has also been narrated by Ibn Al-Sunni from correct and reliable sources from Bilal the *mu'aththin* of the Prophet (s). Also Hafidh Abu Na'im and Bayhaqi (with a little change in the text) have narrated this. Bayhaqi has narrated this Hadith in his book called *Da'awaat*.

Concerning *tawassul* there is another Hadith from the Prophet (s) which has been quoted by Al-Tabarani in his book *(Jame') Kabir*. Also Awsat, Ibn Hannan and Hakim have narrated this. A section of this hadith states that when Fatimah Bint Asad (the mother of Amir Al-Mu'minin (*Hazrat Ali -as-) died, the Prophet (s) prayed for her and said:

" اغفر لأمّي فاطمة بنت اسد ووسّع عليها مدخلها بحق نبيك والانبياء الذين من قبلي "

"Oh God, forgive my mother Fatimah Bint Asad and make her grave large for her for the sake of your Prophet (s) and the other Prophets that were before me."[2-1]

1. Believer.
2. Because Fatimah Bint Asad nursed the Prophet (s) when he was a small child, the Prophet (s) called her mother.

17- Sending *salawah* for the Prophet (s)

They asked Ibn Taymiyyah whether it was better for one to say a *salawah* for the Prophet (s) with a low voice or with a loud and clear voice. Also according to the Hadith narrated by Ibn Abbas they asked the following question from Ibn Taymiyyah: Is the Hadith 'One should send a *salawah* with a loud and clear voice' correct or not?" Ibn Taymiyyah answered: "The scholars unanimously agree that this Hadith is a lie and made up and any Hadith regarding this matter is also a lie. This is because sending a *salawah* for the Prophet (s) is equivalent to reading *dua'* and *dhikr*, and these must be read secretly and with a low voice."[2]

18- Building mosques and placing Qur'ans near graves

One *fatwa* of Ibn Taymiyyah states that: "It is not permissible to build mosques where there are graves and also a dead person must not be buried in a mosque. In addition, if a dead person is buried in a mosque, which existed from before, the grave must be made level with the ground (so that no trace of the grave is left behind). If the dead person has been recently buried they must dig out his body. Furthermore, it is necessary that whenever a mosque is built after the burial of a dead body there, for it to be ruined or the stone or sign of the grave to be demolished and wiped out. It is not permissible for one to perform obligatory or *mustahab* prayers in a mosque which has been built near graves."[3]

"As for placing Qur'ans near graves with the intention of reading them, this is an ugly innovation which none of the Salaf has done and it is like the building of mosques near graves."[4]

19- Everything new is an innovation

Ibn Taymiyyah takes a strong hold of the hadith which says to stay away from new matters because everything new is an innovation, and

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1. Extracted from the book *Shawahid Al-Haq fi al-Estighathah Bi Sayyid Al-Khalq,* compiled by Shaykh Yusuf Nabhani, who was the previous leader of the high court of law in Beirut (from p. 139 to 154).
2. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra,* vol. 1, p. 197.
3. Ibid, vol. 2, p. 227.
4. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 208.

every innovation is misleading. Therefore, Ibn Taymiyyah says, referring to this Hadith, "The Muslim leaders never talked about a matter being *wajib*, *mustahab* or *mubah* (allowable) without using religious reasoning that was based on the Qur'an or the Sunnah of the Prophet (s)."[1]

In general the grounds of Ibn Taymiyyah's *fatwas* reckoning many matters as innovations are based on the idea that it did not exist in the Prophet's (s) time or the Salaf Salih[2] did not do it, such as using a prayer carpet to pray on or reading *dua'* together after prayers[3] with the Imam or *Ma'mumin*[4] and many other cases. These all exist in his book *Fatawa* and have been noted in five large volumes.

His other reasoning for counting everything that was not done in the Prophet's (s) time as an innovation is that: "The Prophet (s) passed away only when he had explained and showed his religion to his people."[5]

20- A general outlook on Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs

The well-known Wahhabi writer, Hafidh Wahba, has summarised the beliefs and opinions, which Ibn Taymiyyah invited people to accept into four points:

1- Returning to God's book and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (s). Following the way of the Salaf Salih in understanding the verses of Qur'an and Hadiths related to God's attributes, and not using the way the philosophers, speakers and Sufis use as their way does not agree with the way of the Salaf Salih.

2- To fight and wage war against innovations and unlawful acts especially things that cause *shirk*. These include matters such as putting one's hand on a grave, performing prayers near graves, asking for one's needs to be given from the dead, asking for help from

1. *Al-Jawab Al-Bahir,* p. 41.
2. Devout ancestors.
3. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra,* vol. 1, p. 219. –We will also discuss this when explaining the beliefs of the Wahhabis.
4. Congegration that prays behind the Imam.
5. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra,* vol. 1, p. 219. –We will also discuss this when explaining the beliefs of the Wahhabis.

anyone other than God, thinking a tree can bring blessings and common people expecting stones to bring good or evil.

3- To only follow the guidelines the Prophet (s) has given us and not exaggerate about the Prophet (s).

4- To believe that the doors of *ijtihad*[1] are completely open and to declare war against prejudiced followers.

These few points form the foundation of Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs. Throughout his whole life he tried very hard to prove them to be correct and true. Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab based his ideology in Najd on these foundations."[2]

People who followed Ibn Taymiyyah's ways

At the time of Ibn Taymiyyah a group of people supported him. Also, some scholars (especially Hanbali scholars) had the same beliefs as him and would praise him. He had students, who would publicize and spread his beliefs, and would compile books and theses about the background of their teacher's thoughts, both in his lifetime and after his death. The most famous student he had was Shams Al-Din bin Abu Bakr Hanbali who was known by the name of Qayyim Jawziyya and who died in 751. In this book we have repeatedly relied on Qayyim Jawziyya's works and books when stating Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs. Another one of his students was Shams Al-Din AKA Imad who died in 744.

More recently there are two people who have tried to promote and expand on Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs and thoughts more than the others. One of them is Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab who is the founder of the Wahhabi sect. We will talk about him and his followers in detail in future sections of this book.

Another is Muhammad bin Ali Shawkani and it seems suitable to give a summary of his life and his beliefs here.

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1. Independent reasoning and independent judgement.
2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* pp. 231-232.

Muhammad bin Ali Shawkani San'ani

Shawkani has written a biography of his father and himself in the book *Al-Badr al-Tali'*[1]. Also, at the end of the book *Nail Al-Autar* a description of Shawkani's life is given. Here we will give a short account of his ways with the use of both these books. In addition, we will point out examples of his beliefs and sayings relying on the books *Nail Al-Autar* and *Irshad Al-Fuhul.*

Shawkan is a village near San'a, which is the capital of Yemen. Shawkani was born in San'a in the month of Dhil Qa'dah in 1173. In this village he learnt the Qur'an and then learnt some theses by heart with the help of a group of teachers. Two of the theses he learnt were *Kafiyyah wa Shafiyyah* by Ibn Hajib and *Talkhis* by Taftazani.[2]

Shawkani had a great interest in history and literary works from when he was in school. After his preliminary studies he wanted to gain more knowledge and so he studied *fiqh*, *usul*[3], Hadith, *nahw*[4] and other sciences from the professors of Yemen. One of his teachers was his father. (Shawkani has mentioned the names of his teachers and the books he learnt from them, one by one.)

While he was studying different topics he also taught a group of students. Shawkani started giving *fatwas* early on. Apart from the people of San'a seeking advice on religious matters from him he would also give advice to those outside of San'ai. At this time he was twenty years old. He had not reached thirty yet when he abandoned *taqlid* (*following a qualified scholar) completely because he became an absolute and independent *mujtahid.* He also undertook the responsibility of being in charge of the judges of San'a. Shawkani wrote many books. He has noted the books he has written in his book *Al-Badr al-Tali'*. Shawkani died in 1250 A.H. and according to one source he died in 1255 A.H.[5]

1. Volume 1, p. 479 and vol. 2, p. 214.
2. At that time small children had to memorize all the texts of these types of theses, whether they understood it or not.
3. Basic principals of Islamic jurisprudence.
4. The study of syntax.
5. Shawkani says, when describing his father's actions and ways, that his father "always followed the Salaf's way."

The religion and beliefs of Shawkani

Shawkani learnt *fiqh* which was in conformity with the Zaydiyyah sect and he compiled a book according to the beliefs of this sect. He gave out *fatwas* until he reached the status of leadership. He became superior to the people of his time in narrating Hadiths and so he was liberated from following a religious leader and reached the status of *ijtihad*[1]. A dispute took place between him and the people of his time about the beliefs regarding religious laws and the opinions he expressed. The beliefs of Shawkani were the beliefs of the Salaf Salih. He looked at the apparent and literal meaning of God's qualities and attributes mentioned in the Qur'an and Hadiths, and was against allegorical interpretations. He compiled a thesis about the religion of the Salaf called *Al-Tuhaf Bimathahib Al-Salaf* which was published.[2]

The *fatwas* of Shawkani are mentioned in detail in his famous and detailed book *Nail Al-Autar*. One of his *fatwas* is that: "One who abandons prayers is an absolute *kafir* and must be killed whether he believes abandonment of prayer is permissible or not."[3]

Some of Shawkani's beliefs and sayings

1- Metaphors in the Qur'an and Hadiths: All the scholars believe that metaphors (a word which is applied to something to which it is not literally applicable and without the presence of an analogy is not understandable) are found in the Arabic language, and so in the same way they are also found in the dear book (Qur'an). In the same way that metaphorical meanings are found abundantly in the Qur'an they are also found abundantly in Hadiths and the *sunnah*.[4]

2-Allegorisation and interpretation: Giving an allegorical interpretation exists in most branches of religion and three sayings exist with regard to whether allegorisation exists in *'Aqa'id*[5], religion and the qualities of God, which are as follows:

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1. Critical explanation and interpretation of divine law on matters of theology and law.
2. A summary of the description of Shawkani's life is found at the end of vol. 9 of the book *Nail Al-Autar*.
3. *Nail Al-Autar*, vol. 1, p. 370.
4. *Irshad al-Fuhul,* pp. 22-23.
5. Basis and elements of beliefs.

A- One must look at the literal meaning and no other interpretation exists. This is the belief of the Mushbihha sect[1].

B- They do have allegories and interpretations but we restrain ourselves from interpreting them. We believe this without believing in similes or agnosticism, as God has said in the Qur'an:

﴿ وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُۥٓ إِلَّا ٱللَّهُ ﴾

"But no one knows its interpretation except Allah."[2]

Ibn Burhan has said, "The Salaf believed in this saying." Shawkani states his beliefs here and has chosen the way of the Salaf which means acknowledging the existence of allegories but not using them to understand the Qur'anic verses.[3]

C- We can interpret in the aforesaid matters.

Ibn Burhan says that out of these three sayings "the first is not valid, and the other two have been quoted from the Sahabah. The third (the existence of interpretations and allegories) has been narrated by Ali, Ibn Abbas, Ibn Mas'ud and Umm Salamah."

3- Asl Ibaha (principle of permissibility): Shawkani has quoted *asl ibaha* from a group of *faqihs*, a group from the Shafi'i sect, Abdullah bin Abd Al-Hakam and some latecomers and he has quoted the basis of its prohibition (*i.e. prohibition of carrying out *asl ibaha* and believing in it) from the people. However, he has chosen the belief in *asl ibaha* and has made this decision based on his own reasoning.[4]

4- About graves: Shawkani has mentioned the same beliefs that Ibn Taymiyyah had mentioned before him in his book, *Nayl al-Awtar fi Sharh Muntaqa Al-Akhbar Majd Al-Din Abd Al-Salam bin Abdullah Harrani.* Majd Al-Din Abd Al-Salam bin Abdullah Harrani is

1. Mushbihha were a group who believed God was human–like. The writer of *Bayaan Al-Adyan* has divided them into ten sects.
2. Surah Ali I'mran, verse 7.
3. *Irshad al-Fuhul*, p. 176, Ibn Taymiyyah and the Wahhabis also believe in this.
4. *Irshad Al-Fuhul*, p. 284 – Asl Ibaha is accepted by all the Islamic sects apart from the Wahhabis and one other groupage Asl Ibaha means believing that if for any matter no text exists to say that it is forbidden then carrying that act out is allowed and permissible. The principal of something being forbidden is that, if for any matter there is no reason to believe it is permissible, then it is forbidden.

famously known as Ibn Taymiyyah (the grandfather of the famous Ibn Taymiyyah). He has mentioned these beliefs with more severity than Ibn Taymiyyah and has objected to the scholars for not stopping and preventing the *ziyarah* of graves and has objected to the heedlessness they show with regard to these matters. Some of his opinions regarding the afore-mentioned matters are as follows: "Ignorant people have the same belief about graves that the idol worshippers have regarding their idols. They believe the graves are able to attract benefits and repel losses. They have placed the graves as a place of refuge for requesting one's needs and getting one's wants. They ask for things from the graves that slaves ask of God. They journey to visit the graves and they look upon the soil of the graves as a bringer of good luck and they do *estighathah* to the graves."

Shawkani then finds it regrettable that: "With the existence of these unlawful, blasphemous and ugly acts (according to him) there is no one to become angry because of them for Allah's sake and there is no one to show enthusiasm for the orthodox religion, not a knowledgeable professor, nor an obedient student, nor an prince, nor a minister and nor a sultan." Shawkani then says: "Some people, who are undoubtedly correct in what they say, have informed us that many of the visitors of the graves or most of them swear to God untruthfully when they need to swear that they are saying the truth. However, if they are told to swear to their spiritual guide or someone they believe in they will not accept to do so and will helplessly confess to the truth. This is a clear reason to show that the *shirk* that these people commit is higher than the *shirk* of the people who say God is the second of two or the third of three."[1]

Shawkani says the following to the scholars of religion and the Islamic kingdoms:

"What tragedy is more severe for religion than blasphemy and what calamity causes more loss for religion than worshipping other than God. Of all the tragedies that can take place for a Muslim, which tragedy is equal to this tragedy?" Then Shawkani reads this couplet, where he is addressing himself:

1. Referring to Surah Nahl, verse 51; and Surah Maeda, verse 73.

"لقد اسمعت لو ناديت حيا و لكن لا حياة لمن تنادى"

"If you called people who are alive, you could have made them hear your words but these who you call are not alive."

"و لو نارا نفخت بها اضاءت ولكن انت تنفخ في رماد"

"Whenever you blow on a fire, it gives light and luminosity, but you blow on ashes."[1]

Shawkani has not explained who the people are that swear untruthfully to God and do not swear untruthfully to the master whom they believe in. Also he has not explained who the people are that worship the graves like idols and instead of turning to God request their needs from the graves, and believe the graves are independently able to bring benefits or repel losses and such matters.

1. *Nail Al-Awtar*, vol. 4, pp. 131-132.

SECTION THREE
Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab
The leader of the Wahhabi sect

The Wahhabi sect is attributed to Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab bin Sulayman bin Ali Tamimi Najdi .The name of this sect (Wahhabi) is based on his Father's name Abd Al-Wahhab. However, as we have said before the Wahhabis do not accept this name, and say that their enemies have named them Wahhabi, and say that they should be correctly named the Muhammadia (with respect to Shaykh Muhammad).

Shaykh Muhammad was born in 1115 A.H in one of the Najd cities, 'Uyaynah. His father was a judge in that city. Muhammad liked to study books on interpretation, Hadith and beliefs from when he was a child. He learnt the Hanbali *fiqh* from his father who was one of the Hanbali scholars. From the beginning of his youth he believed that many of the people's acts were ugly and wrong. On a journey to Hajj, after performing the rites of Hajj, he travelled to Medinah[1], and in Medinah he saw the people doing *estighathah* to the grave of the Prophet (s), and he renounced the belief in *estighathah*. He then returned to Najd and from there he went to Basrah intending to travel to Damascus from there. He stayed for some time in Basrah and opposed many of the acts of the people, but the people persecuted him in return and in the end they threw him out of their city at midday when the heat was severe.

He nearly died on the way between Basrah and the city of Zubair due to the severity of the heat, thirst and walking. However, a man from

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1. Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman bin Hasan bin Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab has written in his thesis, which is about the life of his grandfather that "Shaykh Muhammad first wanted to go from Maccah to Damascus with the Damascus pilgrim's caravan however an obstruction appeared and so he travelled to Medina." Ibn Bishr has quoted the text of the theses, vol. 2, from p. 23 onwards.

the people of Zubair saved him because he saw he was wearing the clothes of scholars. He gave him a sip of water and he gave him a ride on his donkey to his city, Zubair. Muhammad wanted to travel from Zubair to Damascus but because he did not have enough provisions and expenses needed for the journey he changed his mind and travelled to Ahsa. From there he intended to go to Horaymila, which is one of the Najd cities.

At this time, which was in 1139, his father was transferred from 'Uyaynah to Horaymila. Shaykh Muhammad became his father's assistant and studied several books with him. He started to reject the beliefs of the people of Najd and it was for this reason that quarrels and disputes arose between him and his father. In addition, severe disputes arose between him and the people of Najd and this lasted for some years. In 1135 his father, Shaykh Abd Al-Wahhab, died.[1]

Shaykh Muhammad's journey to Iran

One of the oldest Persian books, which mention Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and some of the beliefs of the Wahhabis are found in the appendix of the book *Dhayl Tuhfat al-A'lam* compiled by Abdul-Latif Shushtari. We will quote the exact text later on. In the aforementioned book, Sheik Muhammad's journey to Esfahan, Iran) is mentioned.

Another book is *Ma'athir Sultaniyya* by Abd Al-Razzaq Donboli which talks about the Sheik's long stop in Esfahan. It also mentions that he learnt *fiqh*[2], *usul*[3] and *sarf wa nahw*[4]. We will give a summary of this in section five.

Mirza Abu Talib Isfahani, who is almost Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's contemporary, has mentioned Shaykh Muhammad's visit to Esfahan and also his studying of knowledge and wisdom in that city. Mirza also mentions that Shaykh Muhammad travelled to most of the Iraqi and Khurasani cities up till the borders of the city of Ghaznin. We will also mention what he has said in section five.

1. A summary of the book *Tarikh Najd* by Alusi. p. 111 to 113.
2. Islamic jurisprudence.
3. Methodology.
4. Accidence and Syntax.

Another reference is the volume about Qajariyeh in the book *Nasik Al-Tawarikh*. It talks about the Wahhabi attack on Karbala in 1216 (at the time of the reign of Fathali Shah), which we will discuss later on. This book says, "Abd Al-Wahhab Nami (the correct name is Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab) was a Bedouin and he travelled to Basrah. He was the student of one of the scholars of Basrah called Muhammad for some time[1]. He then went from there to the Iranian lands and made a stop Esfahan. There he studied the science of *sarf wa nahw* and the meanings of rhetoric under the supervision of the scholars. He also profited very much from learning *fiqh* and *usul*. He then started to form opinions on matters of religious law (*ijtihad*). According to his opinion, the root and branches of religion consist of the fact that our single God sent messengers and theses, and the Prophet of the end of time (s) (*epithet of Prophet Muhammad -s-) brought the Qur'an and made clear His religion. After him each one of the caliphs was a *mujtahid*[2] and *mujtahids* have to extract matters from God's book. He believed many things to be innovations, such as building grand domes on the graves of Imams and Prophets, gilding the shrines (*buq'a*)[3] with gold and silver, endowing precious gifts for pious reasons in the holy dormitories, circling the mausoleums[4] of these people and kissing the holy shrine. He believes that these acts are blasphemous acts and those who commit such acts to be equal to Idol worshippers….etc."[5]

The American Lathrup Stewart has also mentioned his visit to Iran.[6]

Ahmad Amin has said, "Shaykh Muhammad visited many Islamic cities. He stayed around four years in Basrah, five years in Baghdad, one year in Kurdistan, two years in Hamedan and then he set off to Esfahan. There he studied the philosophy of noble men and Sufism. He then went from Esfahan to Qum and from there he went to his own city. He chose to stay away from the people for five months and then

1. Here we mean Sheik Muhammad Majmu'ei (Mojmu'a is one of the areas around Basrah). Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab studied under him for some time in Basrah.
2. Clergy man practising religious jurisprudence.
3. A building which houses a grave.
4. A small room built of metal or stone in which a dead person is buried.
5. *Nasikh Al-Tawarikh Qajariyyeh,* vol. 1, p. 118.
6. *Emrooz Jahan Islam*, vol. 1, p. 261.

he started to do ideology[1] again."[2] Ahmad Amin has not mentioned the source of the above information.

Stating his ideology

Shaykh Muhammad proceeded to express his beliefs and renounce the actions of the people after his father's death. A group of people from Horaymila followed him and his ideology became famous and well known. The leaders of the people of Horaymila belonged to two different groups and each one claimed they had the right to leadership over the other. The people of one of the two groups, the Hamyan group, had servants who committed fornication, debauchery and unlawful acts. The Shaykh planned to do *amr bil ma'ruf*[3] and *nahy an al-munkar*[4] with these servants. The servants decided to secretly kill him at night and so they decided to ambush him from behind a wall. However several people found out about their plan and called out to

1. To invite someone to ones way of thinking and religion/activity to convert others to one's religion.
2. *Zu'ma' al-Islah fi al-A'sr Al-Hadith*, p. 10, Shaykh Muhammad is known to have also traveled to other places such as to Istanbul and India, but the writer (Ali Asghar Faqihi) has not found a reliable source which quotes this. In the footnote of p. 336 of Hafidh Wahbah's book, it has been written that: "the Shaykh travelled to Iran and there he learnt the wisdom of the East, how to make a gun and some of the war techniques." Mr Mudarrisi Tabataba'i quotes new matters from the book *Loma' Al-Sshihab fi Sirah Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab*. A manuscript copy of this book is kept in the Britania museum. Mudarrisi believes this is one of the oldest and most important compiled biographies about Shaykh Muhammad. A summary of Mr Tabataba'i's writings is as follows: The Shaykh traveled from his homeland to Basrah and from there went to Baghdad and then to Iraq's Kurdistan. He then went from Kurdistan to Hamedan and resided there for two years. He then emigrated to Isfahan and he stayed in this city and the Abbasid School, which is one of the buildings of Shah Abbas Safavi, for seven years. During this time he read the books *Tajrid Gooshchi*, *Sharh Mawaqif* by Mir Sayyid Sharif and *Hikamat Al-A'in* by Katebi under the supervision of Mirza Khan Isfahani, who is the writer of *Sharh Tajrid*. He then traveled from Isfahan to Rey (a district south of Tehran) and from there he went to Qom. He stayed in Qom with his friend and fellow traveler called Ghazzaz for one month. He then went to the Ottoman cities and to Damascus and Egypt. From Egypt he returned to the Arabian Peninsula. (From appendix No 4, year 11, magazine consisting of historical analysis with the heading 'The relationship of Iran with the independent Najd government').
3. Directing others to do what is lawful.
4. Instructing others not to do what is unlawful.

them while they were hiding. The servants ran away and the Shaykh was saved from danger. Shaykh Muhammad then went to the city of ‘Uyaynah. The leader of the city of ‘Uyaynah was a man called ‘Uthman bin Hamad bin Ma’mar. ‘Uthman allowed the Shaykh to enter his city and he planned to help him. In return Shaykh Muhammad expressed optimism in ‘Uthman being able to have all of Najd in his hands and in being able to gain the submission and obedience of the people of Najd.

The Shaykh since then proceeded to do *amr bil ma’ruf* and *nahy an munkar* and he was harsh when renouncing the people’s actions. Some of the people of ‘Uyaynah followed him. The trees which the people of ‘Uyaynah honoured were cut and the dome and building on top of the grave of Zayd bin al-Khattab was destroyed by his orders.[1]

Zayd’s grave was in the Jabaliyyah region which was near ‘Uyaynah. The Shaykh said to 'Uthman: “Let’s ruin Zayd’s grave and dome.” Uthman replied: “Do what you like, ruin it.” The Shaykh said: “We can only ruin and demolish it if you help us.”

Uthman accompanied the Shaykh with 600 soldiers. The people of Jabaliyyah planned to stop them but they did not have the ability or power to fight with Uthman so they turned away. ‘Uthman told the Shaykh “I will not disrespect the grave”, so the Shaykh picked up a large axe and levelled the grave with the ground. After that a woman came to the Shaykh and confessed to committing adultery, the Shaykh looked at her to assess her and concluded that she was of sound mind and intellect. Then he said to the woman, “Maybe they violated you by force.” The woman gave another type of confession which proved that she deserved the penalty of being stoned, and the Shaykh ordered for her to be stoned.[2]

The disagreement between the Prince of Ahsa’ and the Shaykh

The news of the Shaykh’s ideology reached the ears of Sulayman bin Muhammad who was the Prince of Ahsa. He wrote a letter to Uthman,

1. Zayd was the brother of Umar bin Al-Khattab, and he died in the Jamama War at the time of the caliphate of Abu Bakr (the war of the Muslims with Musaylamah al-Kaththab).
2. *Ibn Bishr*, vol. 1, p. 9-10.

the Prince of ‘Uyaynah, which said: “The man who is with you has said what he has said and has done what he has done, when you receive this letter kill him and, if you do not do this, I will cut off the tribute that I send you from Ahsa.” The tribute consisted of one thousand and two hundred gold coins, and some food and clothes.

When the letter of the Prince of Ahsa reached Uthman he did not think that he had the strength to oppose Sulayman. He called the Shaykh and told him “We cannot handle a war with the Prince of Ahsa. Shaykh Muhammad said to him “If you make haste in helping me you will be the owner of all of Najd.” But Uthman turned his face away and said: “Sulayman the Prince of Ahsa has ordered that you be killed but it would not be manly to kill you in our city, leave our city.” He then appointed a rider called Farid Dhafari to throw the Shaykh out of ‘Uyaynah.

The beginning of the relationship between Shaykh Muhammad and Al Sa‘ud

After the Shaykh was thrown out of ‘Uyaynah he travelled to Dir’iyyah, which is one of the famous Najd cities. This was in 1160 A.H. He reached there in the afternoon and went to ‘Eid Allah bin Sowailam’s house. At that time the Prince of Dir’iyyah was Muhammad bin Al Sa‘ud (the grandfather of Al Sa‘ud). Muhammad had a wife who was called Mowdha and who was the daughter of Abi Wahdan and was from the house of Kathir. She was an intelligent and wise woman. This woman found out about the circumstances of the Shaykh and the situation he was in, and told her husband: “This man is a precious thing which God has sent to you, so respect him and try to honour him and make the most of the help he gives you.”

Muhammad listened to what his wife suggested and so went to see the shaykh at Abdullah bin Sowailim’s house. Muhammad told the shaykh that in the future he will be famous for his goodness and will be honoured. The shaykh in return told Muhammad that in the future he will gain power and triumph over all the Najd cities. The shaykh also talked about how the Prophet (s) and his companions did *nahy an munkar* and *amr bil ma’ruf* and *jihad* for Allah. The shaykh also

reminded Muhammad that every *bid'ah*[1] is misleading and that the people of Najd commit *bid'ah* and injustice, and encounter divisions and disputes between themselves.

Muhammad bin Sa'ud deemed the shaykh's words as beneficial for this life and the afterlife and so accepted them and told him he would provide help, and that he would wage holy war with his opponents. However, Muhammad offered this on two conditions. Firstly, the shaykh was not to leave him and join someone else when help was given and the war took place. Secondly, for him to still receive the tribute he received every year at the time of harvest from the people of Dir'iyyah.

Therefore, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and Muhammad bin Sa'ud swore allegiance to each other to wage war with their opponents, do *amr bil ma'ruf* and *nahy an munkar*, and perform the rites of religion (according to their own beliefs). A group of tribe leaders and other people joined them.[2] Dr. Philip Hatta and Goldziher and some other writers have said that Muhammad bin Sa'ud became Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's son in-law.[3] If this matter is correct than it would have certainly caused a closer relationship to develop between them.

The regret Uthman felt

It has been said that the Prince of 'Uyaynah, 'Uthman bin Ma'mar, threw the Shaykh out of his city. However, when the Prince of Dir'iyyah, Muhammad bin Sa'ud hurried to the help of the Shaykh and he became successful, Uthman regretted what he had done and planned to return the shaykh to 'Uyaynah. With this intention in mind he went to Dir'iyyah with a group of his followers and encouraged the Shaykh to return to 'Uyaynah. However, the Shaykh said that his return depends on Muhammad bin Sa'ud's permission. Muhammad

1. Bid'ah means to enter a belief into the religion or carry out an act which is not part of the religion (i.e. to add it to the religion).
2. Sulayman Fa'iq Bayg is an Uthmani writer, i.e. from the Ottoman Empire, who has written a book called *Tarikh Baghdad*. He has described the way in which the shaykh and Al Sa'ud's relationship began differently. However what we have written in the above text is more correct.
3. *Tarikh A'rab,* p. 926 and *Al-'Qidah wa al-Shari'ah fi al-Islam,* p. 267.

did not agree for the Shaykh to return under any circumstances and Uthman returned to ‘Uyaynah feeling deep regret and fright.

The effect the Shaykh’s presence had on the living conditions of the people of Dir’iyyah

When Shaykh Muhammad went to Dir’iyyah and made an agreement with Muhammad bin Sa‘ud, the people of Dir’iyyah were very poor and had to work hard to be able to put food on the table daily. In addition the people would go to the Shaykh’s preaching sessions to listen to his lectures and preaching.

Ibn Bishr Najdi says: “I (Bishr) saw the city of Dir’iyyah after this at the time of Sa‘ud. I saw that the people had great wealth, their weapons were decorated with gold and silver, they rode horses which were of noble pedigree, and they wore expensive clothes. They had all the equipment the wealthy had, so much so that it is indescribable.

One day, I was observing the bazaars of Dir’iyyah, where the women were on one side and the men on another, and I saw that gold, silver, weapons, camels, sheep, horses, expensive clothing, meat, wheat and other foods were so plentiful that I cannot describe it. As far as you could see the bazaar extended. I heard the cries of the sellers and buyers which were mixed together like the buzzing of bees. One would say I sold, and the other would say I bought.”[1]

Ibn Bishr has not explained where they found this enormous wealth. Nevertheless, due to the course of history, it is obvious that a huge part of their wealth was gained from attacking tribes and other Najd cities, and from making the most of the wealth they plundered from others. Ibn Bishr himself has said, while talking about Sa‘ud bin Abdul-Aziz’s corruption, that “He killed everyone –apart from women, old people and children who had not reached the religious age of adulthood (*baligh*)– and he would take all their possessions.”[2]

1. ‘*Unwan Al-Majd fi Tarikh Najd*, p. 13.
2. ‘Unwan Al-Majd, vol. 1, p. 170.

Shaykh Muhammad and the Sharif of Maccah

In 1185 Prince Abdul-Aziz[1] and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab sent presents with Shaykh Abd Al-Aziz for Sharif Ahmad bin Sa'id, who was the Prince of Maccah. Sharif Ahmad had asked the Prince of Najd to send one of the scholars of Najd to Maccah so that he could find out what the religious beliefs of the Najd were. When Shaykh Abdul-Aziz reached Maccah he discussed some matters with the scholars of Maccah.

Ibn Ghannam who is a Najd historian says: "In the debating session they brought the Hanbali books. The scholars of Maccah were convinced that the beliefs of the Najd in ruining the domes of graves and forbidding people from placing pious ones as their intercessors or asking for their needs from them were correct and right, and so the sheik returned respectfully to Najd."

In 1204 due to the request of Sharif Ghalib, Prince Abdul-Aziz and the Shaykh sent Shaykh Abdul-Aziz Husayni to Maccah again. However, this time the scholars of Maccah did not agree to hold discussions with him.

The aforementioned Ibn Ghannam said: "Sharif Ghalib accepted the ideology of Najd. However, this may have been just a show so that he could hide his secret intention of deciding to go to war with the Nejds and to overthrow their new ideology."

Sayyid Dahlan has said that at the time of Sharif Mas'ud the Prince of Najd requested permission to perform Hajj. The Prince of Najd had sent thirty Najd scholars to Maccah before and had asked if the scholars of Haramain Al-Sharifain[2] could debate with the Najd scholars. However, Sharif Mas'ud commanded the religious judge of law to issue a ruling that stated that the Nejds were *kafir*. He then ordered them to be sent to prison and for their legs to be chained. Similar events were repeated for some time.[3]

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1. The Prince of Najd, a description of his life will be given later on.
2. The two holy sanctuaries at Maccah and Medina.
3. A summarised form of what was found in the book *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 228 onwards.

The character and ways of Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab

Ibn Bishr says that "When Shaykh Muhammad chose Dir'iyyah to be his home the people of the city were very ignorant. They were lazy in performing their prayers and giving *zakat*[1], and they would fall short of holding onto religious rites. The shaykh first taught them the meaning of لا اله الا الله (*there is no God but Allah), which consisted of both a prohibition and a proof. The first part (لا اله *there is no God) prohibits all objects of worship, and the second part (الا الله *but God/Allah) proves that worship is only for one God, who has no partner. He then taught them some principles that, if used, one could discover the signs which prove the existence of Allah, such as the sun, moon, stars, night and day. He also taught them that the meaning of Islam is submission to the command of God, and staying away from what He has prohibited. They were also told about the pillars of Islam, the Prophet (s) and his name, the lineage of the Prophet (s), and the circumstances of the Prophetic mission and immigration. He also talked about resurrection and the rising of the dead, and that the first ideology of the Prophet (s) was the sentence "لا اله الا الله". He also greatly exaggerated the prohibition of *estighathah*.

Afterwards, Shaykh Muhammad wrote a letter to the leaders of Najd and he told them to obey him and to submit to him. A group obeyed him and another group expressed their disobedience to him, and they mocked and ridiculed the shaykh and said he was an ignorant and uneducated man. Some said he practised magic and others accused him of having unpleasant characteristics.

The shaykh ordered the people of Dir'iyyah to kill. The people of Dir'iyyah repeatedly went to war with the people of Najd until the people of Najd obeyed the shaykh and so Al Sa'ud triumphed over Najd and the tribes that existed in it.

However, the course of action the shaykh took with regard to booty was that he used them however he liked. Sometimes the shaykh would give everything of his share, which was a large amount, to two or three people. Whatever booty was gathered remained in the hands of

1. Religious alms tax.

the shaykh and the Prince of Najd could only take his share with the shaykh's permission.

In addition, any army the Prince of Najd equipped and whatever prudence he showed and opinion he expressed, had to be with the permission and by the order of the shaykh."[1]

Alusi says, "The obedience of the Najd people to Shaykh Muhammad had never occurred for any scholar and this is a strange matter. His followers till today (at the time of Alusi) believe he is in the same status as one of the four leaders (meaning Abu Hanifah, Shafi'i, Malik and Ahmad Hanabal), and if anyone talks about him being bad or says something against him, they will kill that person."

Zayni Dahlan has said: "One of the things Shaykh Muhammad did was to make whoever followed him shave his head and this was not done by any of the Khawarij tribes or the innovators of religion. Sayyid Abd Al-Rahman Ahdal Mufti Zabid used to say that "There is no need to compile a book in rejection to the Wahhabi beliefs because the saying of the Prophet (s) which says: "سيماهم التحليق" (shaving is their habit) is enough."

As it happens, a woman who was forced to follow the Shaykh had an argument with him and said: "When you force women to shave the hair on their heads you must force men to shave their beards because the hair of a woman and the beard of a man are both for beauty. (*this means for women their hair is their beauty and for men their beard is their beauty)." The shaykh had no answer to give to that woman."[2]

Sayyid Mughni wrote an elegy when Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab killed a group of people who had not shaved their heads and the opening verse is as follows:

"أفي حلق رأسي بالسكين والحد حديث صحيح بالاسانيد عن جدّي؟"

"With regard to shaving my head with a knife, is there a Hadith from correct sources from my grandfather the Prophet (s)?"[3]

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1. *'Unwan Al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 14-15.
2. *Fitnat Al-Wahhabiyyah,* p. 76-77.
3. *Al-Tawasol Bil Nabi wa Jahlat Al-Wahhabiyyeen,* p. 251.

The end of Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's work

After the Followers of Shaykh Muhammad conquered the city of Riyadh (one of the cities of Najd) and their lands expanded and the routes and ways became safe and all the stubborn and unmanageable people became obedient to them, the shaykh put the people's issues and work under the authority of Abdul-Aziz who was the son of Muhammad bin Sa'ud, and the shaykh busied himself with worshipping and teaching. However, Abdul-Aziz and his father Muhammad did not wash their hands of the shaykh and everything was done according to the shaykh's orders and his opinions. This was the usual course of action until 1206 when the shaykh died.

Shaykh Muhammad compiled and composed many books such as the book *Tawhid wa Tafsir Qur'an* and the book *Kashf Al-Shubuhat* and several other theses and *fatwas* on *fiqh* and *usul*.[1]

The Sa'udi Islamic Movement Library (Nahdhat Islami Sa'udi) in Maccah has published and has distributed the shaykh's written work everywhere.[2]

A few observations

When studying the biography of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, two matters are noteworthy:

The first matter: Where and how did he first learn these new teachings?

Given that his father was one of the Hanbali scholars and severely opposed his son's opinions, the grounds for the development of these new thoughts in his mind were not available in the environment he lived in. It also seems that in Najd the information centres had little information on matters such as the opinions of Ibn Taymiyyah for the shaykh to have learnt such thoughts from there. So how did these thoughts and opinions develop in his mind?

It is likely that because he was infatuated with studying books from childhood and his father was a Hanbali scholar, his father would have had many books from past Hanbali scholars, such as Ibn Taymiyyah,

1. *Tarikh Najd,* Alusi, p. 119.
2. *Kitab Dirasaat Islamiyyah,* p. 391.

and so Shaykh Muhammad could have studied these books with precision and gradually the beliefs and thoughts, which we will mention later on, appeared in his mind.[1]

In any case, the beliefs of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab were based on Ibn Taymiyyah's thoughts and opinions, and the writers and scholars of the Wahhabi sect and some other writers specify clearly that this matter is true. For example, Sultan Abdul-Aziz bin Sa'ud sent a letter to the Ikhwan sect on Dhil Qa'dah in 1332. In this letter bin Sa'ud reminds the Ikhwan sect that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab invited people to believe in the same matters that Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn Qayyim invited people to believe in.[2]

Furthermore, Hafidh Wahba says, "There is a huge similarity in the ideology of these two men (Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab). Ibn Taymiyyah was like a model and example for Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who was the peacemaker of Najd."[3]

Furthermore, according to what is written in *Da'irat Al-Ma'arif*, Shaykh Muhammad had a relationship with the Hanbali scholars of Damascus. Therefore, it is only natural that he profited from the Hanbali compilations especially from the teachings of Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn Qayyim Jawziyyeh.[4]

Most importantly, some of Ibn Taymiyyah's theses are written by hand by Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and today they exist in the Britania museum. This shows that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab used to read Ibn Taymiyyah's books and copy them down.[5]

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1. Shawkani says, "Some people believe that the Prince of Najd believed in the Khawarij ways, but I don't believe this is true because whatever he learnt, he learnt from Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who belonged to the Hanbali way of thinking and would act out the religious opinions of Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim." (*Al-Badr al-Tali'*, vol. 2, p. 6). Dr. Abd Al-Rahman Zaki has also said, "Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab studied interpretation books, Hadith books and books on beliefs, especially Ibn Taymiyyah and his student Ibn Qayyim's books, with great interest." (*Al-Moslimoon fi al-A'alam*, p. 6).
2. *Salah Al-Din Mokhtar,* vol. 2, p. 154.
3. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 331.
4. *Da'irat Ma'arif Islami,* vol. 1, p. 113.
5. *Zu'amma' Al-Islah fi al-'Asr Al-Hadith,* p. 13.

The second matter: What factors caused Shaykh Muhammad to make progress in Najd?

The beliefs he expressed were the same beliefs that Ibn Taymiyyah had expressed before.

However, Ibn Taymiyyah was faced with severe opposition, many hardships, imprisonment, being called to account for what he said and he also endured other tortures. Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs never reached the point where they were acted out, including ruining the graves of great people.[1]

However, the shaykh's situation was opposite to Ibn Taymiyyah, he did not face hardships which stopped him from doing ideology and after some time he had many extremist and bigoted followers. His beliefs were carried out by these followers. He demolished graves and cut down trees which were honoured by the people and he did other similar acts.

What one must pay attention to here is the great difference between the environments for ideology that Ibn Taymiyyah and Shaykh Muhammad lived in. Ibn Taymiyyah expressed his beliefs and opinions in cities such as Damascus and Cairo and in the main centres of the scholars and judges of the highest level. He expressed his beliefs in cities which were influenced already by the four sects. This resulted in, as we have said before when giving the description of his life, Ibn Taymiyyah being faced with severe opposition from all the scholars and judges. Discussions and debates took place between the scholars and Ibn Taymiyyah and they threw him in prison many times and in the end he died in prison.

However, Shaykh Muhammad promoted and spread his ideas in Najd. The greatest scholars of that time were probably his father, Shaykh

1. There are rare occasions where Ibn Taymiyyeh's beliefs were actually put into practise. One example was in the month of Rajab in 704. He went along with some of his followers and some stone cutters to the Tarikh Mosque and broke a stone which was a visiting place for the people and people did *nathr* (*solemn promise to God to do something when ones needs are bestowed) before it. Also, he made a man who had long hair, a long moustache, long nails, was wearing a loose *dalaq* (clothes which the dervish and gypsies wear) and was smoking cannabis ask for forgiveness. He also ordered that the man's hair and moustache to be shaved off and his *dalaq* to be torn.

Abd Al-Wahhab, and his brother, Shaykh Sulayman. Even though these two started to oppose Shaykh Muhammad it had no effect on the people of Najd because of the circumstances the people were in. The Nejds strictly abided by ignorant matters and superstitions and were very simple people who were not involved in religious debate. They had clear and free minds and were ready to accept any new beliefs. Therefore, they accepted the warm and effective explanations and influential words of the shaykh because effective speaking was one of his characteristics. An issue which is counted as one of the factors for Shaykh Muhammad's progress was that among all the scholars who were in Najd at that time, no one was as good as the shaykh in explaining beliefs and using influential words.[1]

Another factor which we must not forget is the fact that the people of Najd were not ruled by any government and they lived in tribes. The people of every tribe followed and obeyed the Prince or shaykh of the tribe on everything. Therefore, it was only natural that if the Prince or shaykh were one of the tribal leaders and they accepted an ideology; then the people who were under their command would also accept that ideology. Due to this, if for whatever reason any of the tribal leaders were to accept Shaykh Muhammad's ideology, their people would also accept his ideology no questions asked. Then the people would be influenced by the shaykh's words and they would become bigoted with regard to their beliefs. They would also practise any matter which they believed was part of the religious laws with enthusiasm and belief.

It must be mentioned that, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab did experience hardships which were due to tribal disputes or beliefs, but for the aforesaid reasons he solved the problems victoriously.

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1. According to what is written in *Da'irat Al-Ma'arif,* vol. 15, p. 479, at the time of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, the area called A'ridh was a part of the two cities of Dir'iyyah and U'yaynah, and was the centre of Islamic sciences. Many great scholars arose from there.

The difference between the ideology of Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab

Muhammad Abu Zuhreh has said the following with regard to the differences between the ideology of Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab:

"The truth is the Wahhabis did not add anything to Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs but practised them more intensely than Ibn Taymiyyah. The Wahhabis put religious matters into practise which Ibn Taymiyyah did not do." These matters are summarised in the following points:

1- Taking Ibn Taymiyyah's words into consideration, the Wahhabis were not satisfied with believing that the laws of worship are laid down in Islam by the Qur'an and Sunnah and so they believed some normal matters were not a part of Islam. This is why they announced tobacco products were *haram* (*prohibited) and they were uncompromising with regard to its prohibition. The common Wahhabis believe people who smoke are *mushriks*[1] and so are similar to the Khawarij in this respect. The Khawarij believe whoever commits any sin is a *kafir* (*unbeliever).

2- In the beginning, they made coffee and such things *haram* for themselves, but we see that later they eased in strictness as they no longer care very much about this prohibition.[2]

3- The Wahhabis were not content with just doing ideology, so they went to war with their opponents and they would say: "We will fight with the innovations in religion." Their leader in the battlefield was Muhammad bin Sa'ud who was the grandfather of the Sa'ud household and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's son-in-law.

4- Whatever village or city they conquered, they destroyed the graves and the chambers [3]. That is why some European writers gave them the title ('demolishers of temples or places of worship'). This title is an

1. Polytheists.
2. It is obvious that using tobacco products and drinking coffee was not customary at the time of Ibn Taymiyyah like it was customary at the time of the Wahhabis. What is meant here is that the Wahhabis forbade the practising of matters that did not exist in the Salaf Salih's time, and this is not only about the coffee and tobacco products.
3. Burial chambers.

exaggeration because chambers [1] are different from temples; however, it seems that they also ruined the mosques which had chambers in them.

5- They did not stop at this but would even ruin obvious graves that had indicators or stones. When they conquered Hejaz they ruined all the Sahabah's (*companions of the Prophet -s-) graves and levelled them with the ground. Today nothing remains of these graves apart from some indication of the areas where the graves were.[2] The only thing they permitted people who came for *ziyarah* to do was to greet the dead person with *assalamu alaikum*.

6- The Wahhabis paid attention to small matters and renounced them openly. These matters were not idol worship and did not lead to idol worship, such as photography, but their scholars have mentioned its prohibition in their *fatwas* and theses. However, their princes do not presently pay attention to these sayings.

7- The Wahhabis have expanded the meaning of innovation in a strange way, such that they believe hanging curtains on the Prophet's (s) holy *rawdhah* is an innovation in religion. They forbade the replacement of the curtains or coverings which resulted in the coverings becoming old and worn-out.[3]

One can say in fairness that the Wahhabis established Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs and they tried to prove the truthfulness of his beliefs with bravery. However, they expanded his concept of innovation and matters that had no relation to worship were called innovations. In fact, *bid'ah* (*innovations) are matters which have no basis and are unfounded in religion and those who perform them perform them with the belief that they are worship and they wish to gain closeness to God by performing them. Although matters such as

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1. Shrine.
2. According to Goldsihr (*Al-'Qidah wa al-Shari'ah fi al-Islam*, p. 267) the rise of the Wahhabis was a move to prove Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs to be true by practising them, and this was done to get rid of the criticisms made about Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs and opinions.
3. Abu Zahre writes after the aforementioned matter that: "Abdul-Aziz Al Sa'ud ordered new coverings to be prepared to be put in the place of the old coverings of the Prophet's (s) holy *rawdhah*. However, he left it to be done after the reconstruction of the Prophet's (s) mosque."

covering the Prophet's (s) holy *rawdhah*[1] are known as *bid'ah* according to Wahhabi belief, no one does them with the intention of worship but only to beautify the holy *rawdhah* and in order to please onlookers, just like the other decorations of the Prophet's (s) mosque.

What is strange is they prohibit the covering of the holy *rawdhah* but they do not think there is anything wrong with the ornaments and other things that are placed for the beautification of the mosque.

Another point is that the Wahhabi scholars believe that only their thoughts and opinions are correct and that they are never mistaken; however, they believe the opinions of others are wrong and far from being correct.[2]

1. Area where the grave is.
2. *Al-Mathahib Al-Islamiyyah*, p. 351 onwards.

SECTION FOUR
The beliefs of the Wahhabis

In this section we will not mention all the Wahhabi beliefs but only some that they are famous for and which separate them from others. The particular beliefs mentioned have brought about opposition and debate by scholars and followers of other sects.

1- The meaning of tawhid and "لا اله الا الله"

Shaykh Muhammad and his followers have applied a meaning to *tawhid* (*monotheism) and the sentence "لا اله الا الله" (There is no God except Allah.) such that, apart from themselves, almost no one can be considered a *muwahhid* (*monotheist). Shaykh Muhammad says: "لا اله الا الله" consists of both a negation and a proof. The first part "لا اله" negates all other objects of worship[1], and the second part "الا الله" proves that worship is for God, who has no partner.[2]"

He also states that: "The greatest thing God has commanded us to believe in is *tawhid*, which means to restrict worshiping so that it is for God only. Also the greatest thing which God has prohibited is *shirk* (*polytheism), which means to think that God has a partner and to believe in this partner."[3] When describing God's attributes, he also says that: "God is not in need of a person to report his slave's needs to

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1. The thesis *Hadiyyah Tayyibah*, p. 82; and the thesis *A'qidat Al-Furqah Al-Najiyyah*, p. 19.
2. It seems that this is Ibn Taymiyyah's saying and has been extracted from the book *Al-'Uboudiyya*. p. 155.
3. *Thalath Rasael*, p. 6. – Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman Al Shaykh has said, "With regard to loving whoever places someone as a partner to God (this means to love another), he has placed that other as a partner to God in worship and he considers that other to be like God and this is a polytheism, which God will not forgive. One who only loves God or loves another for God is devoted (monotheist) and one who loves another with God is a *mushrik* (*person who commits *shirk*, polytheist)." *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 114.

Him, or help Him, or rouse his mercy and feeling of kindness towards His slaves."[1]

As a result, Wahhabis believe that *ziyarah* of the graves, calling upon someone other than God for example like saying, "Oh Muhammad"[2], placing an intercessor and an intermediary with God, performing prayers near graves, and other such matters, which we will mention later, are polytheism. With regard to this matter there is no difference whether a person is Sunni or Shi'ah.

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab considers people who resort to the famous graves of Karkhi, Abd Al-Qadir, Zayd Ibn Al-Khattab and Zubair to be polytheists.[3] Elsewhere he has objected to the *ziyarah* of Shaykh Abd Al-Qadir and placing him as an intercessor, which is done by the Sunni sect.[4]

Alusi says, "Whoever observes the heretic pilgrims of the holy sites[5] of Ali (‘a),

Husayn (‘a), Musa Kadhim (‘a) and Muhammad Jawad (‘a), and the Sunni people's *ziyarah* of the graves of Shaykh Abd Al-Qadir, Hasan Basri, Zubair and other such graves, will find that they are the most ignorant and misled people and commit the highest degree of blasphemy and *shirk*."[6]

The meaning of the above paragraph is that, because the Shi'ah and Sunni people travel to perform the *ziyarah* of graves and do their prayers there and place the dead person as a channel to God, they are

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1. Alusi, p. 45.
2. The late Allamah Hajj Sayyid Muhsin Amin says with regard to this matter, "Without a doubt to read *dua'* and to call to other than God is not worshipping that other, and this has no meaning. Therefore, someone who calls another so he can go near him or so that he can help him, or so 'that other' can give something to him or grant a request for him and other such matters, his act does not count as worshipping other than God and is not a sin at all.
What the verse "فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا" means (which is what the Wahhabis rely on) is not the absolute prohibition of *Du'a* but rather what is prohibited is for someone who calls upon another or requests a need from another to *believe* this other is powerful and empowered like God." *Kashf Al-Ertiyyab*, p. 282.
3. *Hadiyyah Tayyibah,* p. 85.
4. *Kashf Al-Subuhat,* p. 40.
5. A place where Martyrs are buried.
6. *Tarikh Najd,* p. 80.

kafir and *mushirk*. Due to this belief they have named other cities Dar Al-Kufr (land of unbelief) and they invite the people of those cities to believe in the 'true and right religion'.

In 1218 A.H. the Prince of Najd, Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz, wrote this verse when addressing the people of the holy city of Maccah in a letter, which guaranteed the people safety if they obeyed him:

﴿ يَٰٓأَهۡلَ ٱلۡكِتَٰبِ تَعَالَوۡاْ إِلَىٰ كَلِمَةٖ سَوَآءِۭ بَيۡنَنَا وَبَيۡنَكُمۡ أَلَّا نَعۡبُدَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ وَلَا نُشۡرِكَ بِهِۦ شَيۡـٔٗا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعۡضُنَا بَعۡضًا أَرۡبَابٗا مِّن دُونِ ٱللَّهِۚ فَإِن تَوَلَّوۡاْ فَقُولُواْ ٱشۡهَدُواْ بِأَنَّا مُسۡلِمُونَ ﴾

"Say, O People of the Book come to a word common between us and you that we will worship no one but Allah and we will no ascribe any parther to Him, and that we will no take each other as lords besides Allah. But if they turn away, say Be witnesses that we are muslims".[1]

In this letter[2] he has invited the people of Maccah to accept his beliefs, in the same way that unbelievers are invited to the true and right religion.

Furthermore, one of the Wahhabi scholars called Shaykh Hamad bin 'Atiq has compiled a thesis with regard to whether the people of Maccah are *kafir* or not, and has declared that they are *kafir*.[3] This matter is of course related to the time when the Wahhabis had not occupied Maccah yet.

In the beginning of the Wahhabi ideology[4], the tribes or the people who belonged to the regions or cities and had submitted to the

1. Surah Al Imran, verse ٦٤.

2. The text of the letter will be mentioned later on when discussing the history of the Wahhabis.

3. *Hafidh Wahbah,* p. 346. – According to Shawkani, the people of Maccah also said the Wahhabis were *kafir*.

4. To invite others to what one believes in or to one's religion.

command of the princes of Najd swore allegiance to the princes, and this was acknowledged as acceptance of the belief in *tawhid*.[1]

In general the Wahhabis believe that the beliefs of most of the Muslims and also the dealings that take place between Muslims are not in conformity with the foundations of Islam. It seems this matter and other matters have caused some Orientals such as Nibhar from Denmark to think that Shaykh Muhammad was a Prophet.[2]

With regard to the meaning of *tawhid* in the eyes of the Wahhabis, it is appropriate to mention the words of Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman Al Shaykh at this time. He says, "The meaning of لا اله الا الله is the oneness of God, which means that a human should worship God devoutly and restrict worshipping to only God and be repulsed by worship of other than God."[3]

In relation to the above matter, Hafidh Wahba has said, "The meaning of لا اله الا الله is to abandon all objects of worship apart from God and to only turn to God. Worshipping someone or something other than God means to place that other as a partner to God. Even if the doer of such worshipping does not have such an intention he is a *mushrik*, and it doesn't make a difference whether he calls his actions *shirk* or *tawassul*."[4] Hafidh Wahba then continues to say that: "The Wahhabis have no doubt that a person who says, "Oh Prophet of God!" and "Oh Ibn Abbas! and "Oh Abd Al-Qadir" and other such names, and his intention of calling these people is so that they may keep away evil and attract good, and he asks for matters which only God has the

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlika Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah,* vol. 1, p. 43.
2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin.* p. 339. –The writer of the book *Najd*, Shaykh O'thman bin Bishr, calls the Wahhabis Muslims on most occasions as if they are the only Muslims and everyone else is a *kafir* or *mushrik* (refer to the book, *'Unwan Al-Majd*). He also says, "The swearing of allegiance of the people of Qatar to Faysal bin Turki in 1267 was based on Islam, obedience and entering into the Muslim society", vol. 2, p. 132.
3. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 110.
4. To resort to someone who is closer to God and is very religious and to ask him to pray for you to God so that your needs may be granted.

power to grant, then he is a *mushrik* and *mahdur al-dam*[1], and it is permissible to take ownership of his wealth."[2]

To summarise, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab invited people to believe in his *tawhid* and whoever accepted his invitation, his life and wealth were safe, and if they did not accept his invitation then it was permissible to spill his blood and plunder his property. The war the Wahhabis had both inside Najd and out of Najd, such as the war against Yemen, Hejaz, and the areas around Syria and Iraq was based on this ideology. In every city which they defeated in battle, it was permissible for them to spill the blood of the people of that city and plunder their property. If they could, they would make that city their own possession, and if they couldn't they were satisfied with the booty.[3]

People who expressed their obedience had to swear allegiance to Shaykh Muhammad. This was based on accepting the religion of God and the Prophet (s) (according to Shaykh Muhammad's beliefs). (The people of the Duwasir Valley were treated in this way). Moreover, those who rose to confront him had to be killed and their wealth was plundered. According to this policy three hundred of the people of a village in the East of Ahsa, which was called Fusul, were killed and their properties plundered. Also in the Ghoraimil region which is near Ahsa the same was carried out.[4]

Shawkani says, "The followers of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab believe that whoever does not belong to the Najd government and does not obey the princes of the Najd government is an unbeliever (*kafir*)." Shawkani then says, "The Amir Al-Hajj[5] of Yemen, Muhammad bin Husayn Al-Murajil, said to me that a group of the Wahhabis have called me and the pilgrims of Yemen unbelievers and

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1. One whose blood maybe shed with impunity.
2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 339. – Ibn Al-Wardi says, "When the sultan of Egypt saw the large number of soldiers the Mogul's army had, he said: "Oh Khalid bin Walid." Ibn Taymiyyah who was present there forbade him from saying such a thing and told him to say Ya Maliki Yawm Al-Din (*Oh Master of the Day of Religion -Day of Judgement-)", vol. 2, p. 411.
3. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 341.
4. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah,* vol. 1, p. 51.
5. Leader and guide of the pilgrims going to Maccah.

have said that no excuse is accepted from you except that you go to the sultan of Najd so that he may see what kind of Muslims you are."[1]

Other matters which are considered shirk or kufr according to the opinions of the Wahhabis

The Wahhabis give a meaning to *tawhid* which causes no one to be a monotheist other than themselves. They also believe that many matters are against the belief in *tawhid*, and are the cause of blasphemy and *shirk* and departure from Islam. We will mention several of these matters here:

1- Whoever wears an armlet or a friendship amulet to push away calamities and to attract good, or ties a rope to his hands to cure a fever, and does such acts, he is counted as a *mushrik* because these matters are against the belief in *tawhid*.[2]

2- Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab quotes a Hadith from Umar which indicates the fact that a person who swears by someone or something other than God has committed *shirk*. Also, according to another Hadith to swear falsely by God is better than to swear truthfully by someone or something other than God. The compiler of *Fath Al-Majid* justifies this belief by saying, "To swear falsely by God is one of the great sins; however, swearing truthfully by another is *shirk* which is more grave than a great sin."[3]

3- Whoever believes that the daily events of the world cause calamities or unfortunate events and uses bad language or swears at the daily events of the world it is like he has sworn at God since the real Effecter is God (*i.e. God is in charge of all the events that happen).[4]

4- According to a Hadith by Abu Hurairah: "It is not permissible to say: "Oh God, forgive me if You wish" or "Oh God, have mercy on

1. *Al-Badr al-Tali'*, vol. 2, p. 5-6.
2. *Kitab Al-Tawhid*, p. 121.
3. Ibid, p. 425, explains about swearing by someone or something other than God while discussing Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs.
4. *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 436.

me if You like" because God does not dislike or loath granting his slaves needs."[1]

5- It is not permissible for someone to call his male or female servant *abd* (*male slave) or *amah* (*female slave) and for him to say *abdi* (*my male slave) or *amati* (*my female slave) because the creator of all the people of the world is God and all the people are his slaves. If anyone believes he has a female or male slave, even if he does not intend to commit polytheism, this outward appearance of partnership is a type of partnership with God and is polytheism. Instead of *abd* and *amah* one must say *fata* (*female servant) and *fatat* (*male servant) and servant.[2]

6- Whenever something unpleasant takes place one must not say: If I did this or that, it wouldn't have happened. To say (if) opens the way for Satan because it means regret, and regret is inconsistent with patience and accepting what God has wanted. Patience is obligatory and believing in predestination and fate is a religious duty.[3]

* * *

In the next few pages we will explain about the ruling that makes someone an unbeliever (*kafir*).

So who is a muwahhid?

Mr. Mughniyyah has concluded, by relying on Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's books and other literary works of other Wahhabis, that according to the opinion of the Wahhabis no one is a Muslim and no one is a *muwahhid* (*monotheist) unless he abandons some specific matters such as the following:[4]

1- One should not do *tawassul* to any of the Prophets or saints of God. Whenever one does such an act, like for example saying: "Oh God, I resort to You by way of Your Prophet (s) so that You may subject me

1. Ibid, p. 464. The Hadith is in *Musnad Ahmad*, *Musnad Abu Huraira*, vol. 2, p. 243:

"اذا دعا احدكم فلا يقل : اللهم اغفر لي ان شئت ولكن ليعزم بالمسالة فانه لا مكره له"

2. Ibid, p. 466.
3. Ibid, p. 475.
4. *Hathehi Hiya Al-Wahhabiyyah*, published by Beirut, from p. 74 onwards.

to Your mercy", such a person has followed the way of the *mushriks* and his belief is the same belief that the polytheists have.[1]

2- One must not travel with the intention to do *ziyarah* of the holy Prophet (s), and one must not put his hand on the holy grave, and one must not read *dua'* or perform prayers near the Prophet's (s) grave. Also, one must not build a mosque or building on the grave and do a *nathr*[2] for it.[3]

3- One must not request intercession from the Prophet (s). Even though God has given the right of intercession to the Prophet (s) of Islam and other Prophets, God has prohibited us from requesting it. It is permissible for Muslims to say:

"يا الله شفّع لي محمدا"

"Oh God, place Muhammad as my intercessor"

However, it is not permissible to say:

"يا محمد اشفع لي عند الله"

"Oh Muhammad, intercede for me before God."[4]

A person who requests the intercession of God from Muhammad is like the idol worshippers who requested intercession from their idols.[5]

4- One must not swear by the Prophet (s) nor call upon him and one must not describe the Prophet (s) with the word *Sayyedina* (*master). Also one must not say things such as, "for the sake of Muhammad", "Oh Muhammad" and "Sayyedina Muhammad." To swear by the Prophet (s) and other creations is great *shirk* and is the cause of an eternity in hellfire.[6]

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1. Extracted from the book *Tathir Al-'Itiqad* Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, p. 360 and Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's nine theses, p. 45.
2. Solemn promise or vow to do something for God if ones needs or wishes are granted and to offer its good deeds to e.g. the Prophet (s).
3. Quoted from Tathir Al-Aqa'id, pp. 30-31.
4. Quoted from Manshoor Sultan Abdul-Aziz in 1323 A.H. Shaykh Muhammad says that "One should request for the Prophet's (s) intercession from God and for example should say: "اللهم لا تحرمنى شفاعته يا اللهم شفعه لي". *Kashf Al-Subuhat*, p. 44.
5. Quoted from the nine *Rasael A'maliyyah*, p. 110-114.
6. Quoted from *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 414.

Shaykh Muhammad also says: "To do *nathr* for someone other than God and to seek refuge and to do *estighathah*[1] to someone other than God is *shirk*."[2]

2-To confess to Shahadatayn[3] does not mean one is a Muslim

Shaykh Abd Al–Rahman Al Shaykh (the grandson of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab) has said, "Even though the grave worshippers (meaning the visitors of the graves) say "لا اله الا الله" and perform prayers and fast, everything they say and do is wrong because they have placed another as a partner to God in their worship and love of God. In addition, because they are *mushriks* none of their acts are correct nor are they accepted from them."[4]

Hafidh Wahba has stated that: "People who are not Wahhabis believe that whoever confesses to *Shahadatayn* his life and wealth are safe and honoured. However, the Wahhabis say, that words without actions have no worth and credibility. Therefore, whoever says the *Shahadatayn* "لا اله الا الله و ان محمدا رسول الله" but calls on the dead, does *estighathah* to dead ones, asks for his needs to be granted by them and requests from dead people that calamity and distress be eliminated from his life is an unbeliever and a polytheist and it is permissible to spill his blood and plunder his property."[5]

With regard to this matter Alusi has said, "Whoever confesses to the words "لا اله الا الله و ان محمدا رسول الله" but worships another (he means visiting of the graves) even though he prays and gives *zakat*[6] and fasts and acts out some Islamic traditions his confession of belief is still not accepted from him."

Alusi has also said the following with regard to this matter: "Whoever confesses to the words "لا اله الا الله و ان محمدا رسول الله", but worships

1. To implore for help or to supplicate for something / to call upon someone and ask for help.
2. *Kitab Al-Tawhid*, p. 141-142.
3. The two testimonies of the Islamic creed, which are the belief in the unity of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad.
4. *Fath Al-Majid* giving the description of the book by Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab, p. 106.
5. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 341.
6. Alms as prescribed by Islam.

someone other than God (i.e. visits graves), this worship is not accepted from him, even if he performs prayers, gives *zakat*, fasts, and carries out some of the Islamic acts."

Alusi then continues to say, "There are two types of disbelief, one of them is absolute disbelief, which means to deny the correctness of everything the Prophet (s) has told us (*the beliefs he taught), and the second is bounded disbelief, which means to deny the correctness of some of what the Prophet (s) has said." To prove and show that bounded disbelief exists Alusi has relied on some of the Sahabah's[1] actions, saying that those who did not pay *zakat* were *kafirs* even though they confessed to *Shahadatayn* and performed prayers and fasted and went to Hajj.[2]

Alusi then concludes that: "The worshippers of the graves (meaning the visitors of the graves) cannot be called Muslims and cannot be called polytheists due to the fact that they perform prayers, fast and have faith in the Day of Resurrection."

It is clear that these words and beliefs are taken from the writings of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab. They are found in detail in Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's book *Al-Rasa'il*.[3]

An explanation regarding this matter

The belief of non-Wahhabis that whoever says the *Shahadatayn*, performs prayers, pays *zakat* and believes in the necessities of religion falls within the category of Muslims and his or her blood and property are safe, is in accordance with the way of life and morals of the Prophet (s) and is one of the certainties of Islam. There are also many Hadiths[4] with regard to this matter in *Sahih Bukhari* and *Musnad Ahmad Hanbal* and other Hadith books. The way of life and morals of Muslims who come from different groups and sects from the beginning until now was such, and the scholars of all the Islamic sects had and have agreement on this issue.

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1. Companions of the Prophet (s).
2. What is meant here is the war of Abu Bakr with the Arab tribes, who stopped paying *zakat* after the death of the Prophet (s). Abu Bakr called them apostates and went to war against them.
3. Such as *Thalath Rasae'il*, and especially *Kashf Al-Subuhat*, p. 50 onwards.
4. Prophet's (s) saying.

Ibn Hanbal has narrated from Umar and Umar has narrated from the Prophet (s) that:

"امرت ان اقاتل الناس حتّى يقولوا: لا اله الا الله فمن قال لا اله الا الله فقد عصم مني ماله ونفسه الا بحقه وحسابه على الله تعالى"

"God ordered me to go to war with the people so that the words: "لا اله الا الله" may flow on their tongues and whoever says them his wealth and life are safe apart from where a right applies and the action is reckoned by God, the Exalted."[1]

Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut (the previous Al-Azhar leader) says, "Confessing to the oneness of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad (s) (i.e. saying: "اشهد ان لا اله الا الله و ان محمدا رسول الله") is the sentence which proves that a person has accepted the Islamic beliefs and is a key by use of which a person can enter into Islam and after that Islamic religious laws will be incumbent upon him." [2]

Ruling someone to be blasphemous

When explaining the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah and the Wahhabis it was mentioned that the Wahhabis believe everyone apart from themselves to be *kafirs* and polytheists and that they very quickly give the verdict of blasphemy, even though the Prophet (s), Sahabah, and scholars of religion who came from different sects, did not act in this way. In fact, the Prophet (s) and his companions, scholars and religious leaders did not believe any of the matters which the Wahhabis claim to bring about a ruling of blasphemy and polytheism.

If it were so that confessing the *Shahadatayn* was not enough to become Muslim and the meaning of *tawhid* has been misunderstood by all except Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers, then the Muslims of the Prophet's (s) era –who were mostly of the Arabs of the *jahiliyyah*[3] period and a group of them were counted as the *Muállifat al-qulub*[4]– should not have been accepted as Muslims. According to Sihah Sittah

1. *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 1, p. 19-35-*Musnad 'Umar*.
2. *Al-Islam A'qidah wa al-Shari'ah*, p. 30.
3. Age of ignorance/ pagan state of Arabs before the arrival of Islam.
4. This is according to what is written in the Qur'an and means: those whose hearts are to be reconciled.

(*the six reliable Hadith collections), other books that are reliable to the Sunni sect and the books of other sects, at the heart of Islam – apart from the Sahabah of the Prophet (s) who were of a high status and other people who accepted Islam based on their correct understanding and perception of Islam – in the beginning many of the Muslims knew nothing about Islam and it was enough for them to confess to the *Shahadatayn* for their wealth and life to be safe and for them to be considered Muslims.

The Wahhabis say that a person who confesses to the *Shahadatayn*, performs the five daily prayers, gives *zakat* , performs Hajj and believes in all the necessities of religion and acts them out but also visits the graves of great people is a *mushrik* because he places another in partnership with God in his worship for God. Whereas, if you ask any one of the visitors of the graves be it Sunni or Shi'ah why he visits the grave of great people, he will say: "Because this person was a special slave of God and he acted out his duties of worship better than others, I visit his grave for God and I pray for him and I try to honour him."

It is evident that ruling that such a person commits blasphemy and *shirk* is against the soul of Islam and is inconsistent with the way of life and morals of the Prophet (s), the Salaf Salih[1] and the leaders of religion.

It is now suitable to quote a section of the book *Al-Islam Bayn Al-Sunnah wa Al-Shi'ah* which is about ruling someone as blasphemous and the *sirah*[2] of the Prophet (s), Sahabah and religious leaders of different sects regarding this issue. We quote this so that it can be made clear that one cannot easily rule a *muwahhid* and Muslim as being a *kafir* or easily rule millions of Muslims as blasphemous according to a pretext which is in no way inconsistent with *tawhid* and the worship of God.

To rule someone as kafir is the right of God (*no one else)

"Islam (submission to God) becomes apparent by words and actions and it is because of these words and actions that matters related to

1. Devout ancestors.
2. Way of life and morals.

inheritance take course and people gather together for prayers and pay *zakat* and perform Hajj. It is these that bring one out of blasphemy to join faith and belief."[1]

"I believe none of those who are 'people of the qiblah'[2] (i.e. Muslims) are *kafir*."[3]

"The people found difference of opinions in many matters after the Prophet (s) and different sects appeared, but Islam gathers all these sects together and includes all of them."[4]

"I do not give the ruling of being a *kafir* to anyone who belongs to the people of the *qiblah*."[5]

"I under no circumstances believe that those who say the *Shahadatayn* are *kafirs*."[6]

"If wild animals eat my meat, I would like it more than to meet God when I have been enemies with someone who believes in the Oneness of God and Prophethood of Muhammad (s)."[7]

"I will never excommunicate one of the followers of the Islamic sects."[8]

"It is not permissible to be enemies with any monotheist even if carnal desires have caused him to turn away from what is right and just."[9]

We will finish off by quoting words of Imam Ja'far Al-Sadiq ('a) who has said, "Muslims are the brothers of Muslims. Every Muslim is the eyes, mirror and guide of his Muslim brother, no Muslim commits treachery against his Muslim brother, he does not deceive and oppress his Muslim brother and he does not open his mouth to backbite his Muslim brother."

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1. Quoted from Imam Muhammad Al-Baqir ('a).
2. Direction of the Ka'bah to which Muslims pray to five times a day.
3. Abu Hanifa.
4. Abu Al-Hasan Ash'ari.
5. Ibn Taymiyyah.
6. Awza'i.
7. Ibn A'yniyyah.
8. Abu Al-Hasan Rowyani.
9. Sufiyya al-Thawri.

Also, the words and *sirah* of the Prophet (s) with regard to this matter are: "Whoever dies knowing that apart from God there is no other God then He will enter paradise."[1]

We observe that when the Prophet (s) sent Mu'ath bin Jabal to Yemen to invite the people to believe in God, he ordered him to be satisfied with the people believing in God and their confession to the holy Prophet's (s) prophetic mission. The Prophet (s) told Mu'ath: "You will go to a tribe who are of the People of the Book. First, invite them to confess "لا اله الا الله" (There is no god except Allah). If they obey, let them know that God has made the five prayers for the night and day obligatory. If they accept then tell them that it is obligatory for the rich to give *zakat* to the poor."

Any human who believes in his heart that heaven and hell are under the command and Will of God and that one of God's characteristics is that He pays attention to the depths of the hearts (in making judgement), but makes a ruling about whether a person has faith or commits blasphemy, such a person – however high in status and knowledge and even if seemingly supernatural or unexplained things occur from him – has dared greatly by having these beliefs and ideas in God's presence.

When the Prophet (s) heard that his stepson Usama bin Zayd killed an idol worshiper who professed to God's unity, he became very angry with him and did not accept Usama's excuse that the man professed to God's unity because he was scared of being killed and the Prophet (s) said; "Did you split his heart and see whether he said those words according to belief or fear?" This shows that faith is placed in the heart and no one knows the secrets of the heart apart from God.

Also, when 'Umar asked for permission from the Prophet (s) to kill the leader of the hypocrites, Abdullah bin Ubay, the Prophet (s) said: "If you do so the people will say that Muhammad kills his companions." It seems the Prophet (s) wanted to make 'Umar and

1. A summary of p. 33 to 36. –From the book *Al-Islam Bayn Al-Sunnah wa Al-Shi'ah*, vol. 1, quoted from the narrations of Mokhtar Sahih Muslem and Sharh Nawawi, pp. 84, 88, 47 , 51.

others understand that one can rule if he apparently believes in Islam even if one has doubts and hesitatations about this being true.[1]

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's brother, Shaykh Sulayman, who was counted as Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's number one opponent, has compiled a book (*Al-Sawa'iq Al-Ilahiyyah*) in rejection of his brother's beliefs regarding the idea that everyone is a *kafir* and an apostate. Shaykh Sulayman has narrated fifty two Hadiths which say that whoever says the words لا اله الا الله is a Muslim and state that blasphemy is committed when a Muslim believes another Muslim to be *kafir*.[2]

3-Ithbat Jahat[3] for God

The Wahhabis follow Ibn Taymiyyah in acting upon and believing in the apparent meaning of Qur'anic verses and Hadiths and do not believe in interpreting and explaining them. By relying on the apparent meaning of some *ayahs* and Hadiths they attempt to prove *ithbat jahat* for God and believe God has organs and limbs.

In relation to this matter, Alusi has said' "Wahhabis certify the Hadiths which lead to the belief that God descends to the first sky and say that God descends from the *Arsh*[4] to the sky of the world and says "هل من مستغفر؟" "Is anyone asking for forgiveness?"

They also believe that on the Day of Resurrection God will come to the plain of judgement because He Himself has said in the Qur'an:

﴿وَجَآءَ رَبُّكَ وَٱلْمَلَكُ صَفًّا صَفًّا﴾

"…and your Lord will come with the angels in ranks."[5]

1. A summary of p. 33-36 – from the book *Al-Islam Bayn Al-Sunnah wa Al-Shi'ah*, vol. 1, quoted from the narrations of Mokhtar Sahih Muslem and Sharh Nawawi, pp. 84, 88, 47-51.
2. *Al-Ssawa'ig Al-Ilahiyyah*, p. 55 to 63).
3. Proof of direction/to prove God is in a particular direction.
4. Celestial throne, throne of heaven.
5. Surah Fajr, verse 22.

Also, God will come near any of His creatures in whichever way He wants, as He Himself has said in the Qur'an: ***'and We are nearer to him than his life-vein.'***[1]

﴿ وَنَحۡنُ أَقۡرَبُ إِلَيۡهِ مِنۡ حَبۡلِ ٱلۡوَرِيدِ﴾

Alusi says elsewhere, "Although the Wahhabis show *ithbat jahat* for God they do not consider God as a body.[2] They also believe that the believers will see God on the Day of Resurrection; however, they do not know in which circumstances, how and where God is seen."[3]

Furthermore, the Wahhabis give proof that shows that God has the organs of a human's body. For example, by using the apparent meaning of the verse:

﴿ بَلۡ يَدَاهُ مَبۡسُوطَتَانِ ﴾

"Nay, both His hands are widely outstretched"[4] they prove that God has two hands, and by using the apparent meaning of the verse:

﴿وَٱصۡنَعِ ٱلۡفُلۡكَ بِأَعۡيُنِنَا ﴾

"And make the ark before Our eyes" [5] they prove that God has two eyes, and because of the verse:

﴿فَثَمَّ وَجۡهُ ٱللَّهِۚ ﴾

"there is the presence of Allah"[6] they assert that God has a face.[7] Their evidence that God has fingers is a narration that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab mentions at the end of his book, which is as follows:

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1. Surah Qaaf, verse 16 - Regarding this matter, refer to the books and theses of Ibn Taymiyyah especially his *al-Aqidah Al-Hamawiyyah* thesis.
2. *Tarikh Najd,* pp. 90-91.
3. Ibid, p. 48. It is not clear how you can see God when you don't know in which circumstances, how and where you can see Him.
4. Surah Ma'ida, verse 64.
5. Surah Hud, verse 37.
6. Surah Baqara, verse 115.
7. *Hathehi Hiya Al-Wahhabiyyah,* p. 93 – the writer of this book who is one of the literary men and scholars of the Arabs says after mentioning this matter that: "The Arabs use so many metaphorical meanings to explain words that the words are not used in their true meanings and places. Therefore, evidently the Qur'an and Sunnah

"ان الله جعل السماوات على اصبع من اصابعه و الارض على اصبع و الشجر على اصبع الى آخره"

Verily, God has placed the heaves on one of His fingers, the earth on finger and the trees on another finger. [1]

4- The attributes of God

The writer of the book *Fath Al-Majid* says: "The whole of the Sunni sect and their congregation, however old and however contemporary, believe that the attributes of God which God himself has said in the Qur'an or which have been described by the Prophet (s) are certain and fixed. However, you cannot liken the attributes of the Divine Essence or nature of God to any of his creations.

"God is independent of anyone or anything having the same or similar attributes to Him (*i.e. no one has the same or similar attributes to God):

﴿ لَيۡسَ كَمِثۡلِهِۦ شَيۡءٞۖ وَهُوَ ٱلسَّمِيعُ ٱلۡبَصِيرُ ﴾

"***Nothing is like Him, and He is the All-hearing, the All-seeing".*** [2].

Just as the Divine Essence of God is true and real and is not similar to any essence or nature, God also has true attributes which are not similar to any of the attributes of His creations. Whoever denies the trueness of any of the attributes of God, which God himself has

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have been sent and given to us according to how the Arabs talked, and in the same way they talked in their speeches and conversations

﴿ إِنَّآ أَنزَلۡنَٰهُ قُرۡءَٰنًا عَرَبِيّٗا لَّعَلَّكُمۡ تَعۡقِلُونَ ﴾

"Surely We have revealed it an Arabic Quran that you may understand" (Surah Yusuf, verse 2). If it was so that we looked at only the literal meaning and the apparent meaning of the *ayahs* then how would we interpret the verse

﴿وَسۡـَٔلِ ٱلۡقَرۡيَةَ ٱلَّتِي كُنَّا فِيهَا ﴾

"Ask [the people of] the town we were in" (Surah Yusuf, verse 82) and other verses of the same kind?

1. The book *Al-Tawhid* and the book *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 520-521.
2. Surah Ash-Shura, verse 11.

described, or interprets the apparent or literal meanings and justifies or explains them (for example to say what is meant by 'hand' in the *ayah*

﴿يَدُ ٱللَّهِ فَوۡقَ أَيۡدِيهِمۡۚ﴾,

is the strength and power of God), such a person is of the Juhmi sect[1] and he is on a separate path from the *mu'minin*."[2]

5- About the first Prophets

Shaykh Muhammad has said in his books and theses on the matter of Prophethood that the first of the Prophets is Noah ('a):

"اولهم (أوّل الانبياء) نوح و آخرهم محمد (ص)"

"The first Prophet was Noah and the last was Muhammad (s)".

He has relied on Qur'anic verses for this matter such as the verse:

﴿إِنَّآ أَوۡحَيۡنَآ إِلَيۡكَ كَمَآ أَوۡحَيۡنَآ إِلَىٰ نُوحٖ وَٱلنَّبِيِّـۧنَ مِنۢ بَعۡدِهِۦۚ﴾

"We have sent revelations to you, just as we sent revelations to Noah and the Prophets after him."[3]

6- Intercession and estighathah

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab says: "The types of worship God has ordered us to do such as submitting to God's will, faith, doing good, prayer, fear, hopefulness, trust, yearning and desire, steadfastness, *estighathah*, offering sacrifices and doing *nathr* are all specified for God only."[4]

With regard to intercession Hafidh Wahba says, "Wahhabis do not deny that the Prophet's intercession on the Day of Judgement will take place, and just like it has been written in narrations and traditions they believe that intercession can take place by other prophets, angels, those favoured in the eyes of God and children. The way in which one

1. The Johmiyyah sect are the followers of Johm bin Safwan (in the first half of the second century), who had particular beliefs about using force and about faith and the attributes of God.
2. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 460.
3. Surah Nisa', verse 163.
4. *Thalath Rasa'il,* p. 8.

should request intercession is for one to request from God that the Prophet (s) be placed as his intercessor and for example to say:

"اللهم شفع نبينا محمدا فينا يوم القيامة اللهم شفع فينا عبادك الصالحين"

"Oh God, place our Prophet Muhammad (s) as our intercessor on the Day of Resurrection - Oh God, place your pious slaves as our intercessors". However, what the people usually say is:

" يا رسول الله و يا ولي الله اسألك الشفاعة "

"O the Messenger of God, O wali of God, I ask your intercession".

And words such as:

"يا رسول الله ادركني" "O Messenger of Allah, come to my pelp", or "يا رسول الله اغثني". "O Messenger of Allah, I ask you for pelp". To say such things is to commit *shirk*."[1]

Ibn Qayyim says: "One type of *shirk* is asking for ones needs to be granted from the dead, doing *estighathah* to them and paying attention to them. A dead person cannot do anything. He is not in charge or the master of his own loss and benefit let alone helping the people who call out and do *estighathah* to him or ask for him to intercede for them before God. Shaykh Sun'allah Hanafi has said, "Now among the Muslims, groups are found that claim that one of the miracles of the Awliyya' Allah[2] is that in their lives and after their deaths they have the power to bring about changes. People do *estighathah* to them when they encounter difficulties and hardships and with their efforts the tortures people endure are eliminated. The people visit their graves and ask for their needs to be granted from them and they offer sacrifices and do *nathr* with the hope of receiving *thawab*"[3]. Shaykh Sun'allah has expressed his views here and says that: "These beliefs and views are exaggerations and cause eternal perdition and constant punishment, and one can smell definite and concrete *shirk* from such beliefs and views"."[4]

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin.* p. 339-340.
2. God's saints, favourites of Allah, friends of Allah.
3. Reward, i.e. receiving reward for doing good.
4. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 173.

Ibn Sa'ud said in a speech which he gave in Maccah in Dhil-Hijja in 1362 that: "Greatness and omnipotence is specific to God only and there is no object of worship apart from Him. These words are said in rejection to people who call upon the Prophet (s) and ask for their needs to be granted by him. Even though he has no power and will, and all matters are related to God the Exalted. *Tawhid* is for God only and worship is only addressed to Him. Hope, fear and wishes are restricted to God only (*i.e. only God has the power to affect them or bring about changes in them), and the prophetic mission of the Prophet of Islam (s) and other Prophets was only to teach *tawhid* to the people."[1]

Shaykh Sun'allah has said, "Doing *estighathah* in apparent, usual and sensed matters is permissible. For example, at times of war or to push away enemies or wild animals, one can ask for help from another. However, *estighathah* in spiritual matters such as hardships which are inflicted on humans like illness, fear of drowning, difficulties of life, poverty, and requesting sustenance are matters which are allocated to God only and one should not request these from anyone other than God."[2]

Zayni Dahlan quotes from Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab that: "Whoever does *estighathah* to the Prophet of Islam or does *estighathah* to other than him such as to the Prophets and Awliyyah-Allah and pious ones, or calls out to one of them or requests their intercession, they are like *mushriks*. Visiting the Prophets' (s) graves and other graves is in the same rank as *shirk*. Also, the visitors of these graves are like *mushriks* who used to say the following about their idols:

﴿مَا نَعۡبُدُهُمۡ إِلَّا لِيُقَرِّبُونَآ إِلَى ٱللَّهِ زُلۡفَىٰٓ﴾

"We only worship them so that they may bring us near to Allah."[3]

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1. The Um Al-Qura Newspaper, Maccah edition, dated the eleventh of Dhil Hijja 1362. Shaykh Muhammad says: "The companions of the Prophet (s) at the holy Prophet's (s) time would ask the Prophet (s) to pray for them; however, after his death they did not do so near his grave at all, they even abjured calling God near the Prophet's (s) grave." *Kashf Al-Subuhat*, p. 59.
2. *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 175.
3. Surah Zumar, verse 3.

With regard to this matter Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab also says that: "The *shirk* committed by people who ask for intercession from graves is worse than the *shirk* committed by the idol worshippers in *jahiliyyah* (*the age of ignorance)."[1]

Explaining estighathah

Sayyid Ahmad Zayni Dahlan, the mufti of Maccah, says the following about the afore-mentioned matter: "Theses which have been written in rejection of these beliefs find the above reasoning incorrect and wrong. This is because people who are from the *mu'mini* who do *estighathah* to the Prophet (s) or Awliyya' Allah do not believe these people are God or partners of God. They, on the other hand, believe these people are all the creatures and slaves of God and do not in any way believe they are worthy of worship, as opposed to *mushriks*, who the aforesaid verse and other similar verses were sent down about. The *mushriks* believed their idols were worthy of worship and the greatness which they believed their idols had was considered to be equal to the greatness of God. However, the *mu'minin* do not believe prophets are worthy of worship and do not believe they have greatness which is specific to God only, but rather believe that the prophets and Awliyya' Allah are the slaves and friends of God and are His chosen ones. In addition they believe that God is merciful to his slaves because of the blessing of the existence of the prophets and Awliyya' Allah, and the intention people have when visiting prophets and Awliyya' Allah is to be blessed by them."[2]

With regard to calling and crying out to the Prophet (s) for *estighathah*, the late Allamah (*great scholar) Hajj Sayyid Muhsin Amin has quoted from the book *Khulasat Al-Kalam* that: "The saying of the Prophet's (s) companions during the war with Musailimah Kaththab was 'Oh Muhammad, oh Muhammad'. Furthermore, when Abdullah Umar's leg hurt they told him to remember the person he likes most and he said 'Wa Muhammada' and his leg became better. Other similar matters also exist and all of them are the act of doing *estighathah* to the holy Prophet (s)."[3]

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1. *Kashf Al-Subuhat,* p. 47-48.
2. *Al-Fotohaat Al-Islamiyyah,* vol. 2, p. 258.
3. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab,* p. 300.

With regard to intercession, Anas Ibn Malik has narrated the following:

"لكل نبي دعوة قد دعا بها فاستجيب فجعلت دعوتي شفاعة لأمّتي يوم القيامة"

"Every Prophet has had an answered prayer, and I (the Prophet -s-) have allocated that prayer to doing intercession for my people on the Day of Resurrection.".

Another narration from the Prophet (s) which is quoted by Abu Hurairah is:

"لكل نبي دعوة يدعو بها واريد ان اختبي دعوتي شفاعة لأمتي في الآخرة"

"Every Prophet requests something from God, and I have kept my request to intercede for my people on the Day of Resurrection."[1]

According to the writings of Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman, on the Day of Judgement people will turn to the Prophet (s) so that he may intercede for them before God, and so that they can be relieved and freed from that difficult stop (*i.e. time).[2]

7- To call someone other than God sayyid[3] or mowlana[4] is shirk

Allamah Amini quotes from the first thesis of the theses (*Al-Hadiyyah Al-Saniyyah*), and says, "After Sahib ResalaH mentions the sanctity and reverence which the buildings around graves have, he says that: "calling and crying out to the buried ones in the graves and calling them with the words: "يا سيدِي و مولاي افعل كذا وكذا" –"Oh my lord and master, grant me such and such"– and other such words is like worshipping Laat and Uzza."[5]

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab says with regard to this matter, "What the *mushriks* mean by the word اله (*god) is what the *mushriks* in our time mean by using the word *sayyid*."[6]

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1. *Sahih Bukhari,* vol. 8, p. 82-83.
2. *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 215.
3. Lord or Master.
4. Lord or Master.
5. The names of two idols from the age of ignorance (*jahiliyya*).
6. *Kashf Al-Shubuhat,* p. 34.

In conclusion, in the references and sources the opinion of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab with regard to whoever calls another by the title *mowlana* or *sayyiduna* is that he is a *kafir*.[1]

The explanation of the aforesaid matters

The late Allamah[2] Amin says after mentioning the aforesaid matter that: "Applying the word *sayyid* to someone other than God the Exalted or calling out to someone with the word *sayyid* is correct and it does not mean anything. This is because no one intends true mastership, or God's Mastership which is only for God, when saying these words. Also apart from this in the Qur'an there are several occasions where the word *sayyid* is applied to someone other than God, such as when talking about Yahya bin Zakariyyah the Qur'an says the following:

﴿وَسَيِّدًا وَحَصُورًا﴾ [3]

and also in the Ayah:

﴿وَأَلْفَيَا سَيِّدَهَا لَدَا ٱلْبَابِ ۚ﴾ [4].

Also we see that in the Prophet's sayings the application of the word *sayyid* to someone other than God has reached us by successive witnesses, such as in Bukhari's narration from Jabir in which the Prophet (s) says:

"من سيدكم يا بني سلمة؟"

"O the tribe of Banu Salamah, who is your chef train?"

And in another saying narrated by Abu Hurairah the Prophet (s) says:

"انا سيد ولد آدم يوم القيامة"

"I am the master of children of Adam on the day of Resurrection". In yet another narration the Prophet (s) says:

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1. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab,* p. 343.
2. Very learned man.
3. Surah Al Imran, verse 39: ***"lordly, chaste, a prophet of the righteous."***
4. Surah Yusuf, verse 25, ***"and they met her lord and master (husband) at the door."***

"انا سيد ولد آدم و على سيد العرب"

"I am the master of the children of Adam and Ali is the master of Arabs." Furthermore, according to a narration from Abu Sa'd Khudri the Prophet (s) says:

"الحسن والحسين سيدا شباب اهل الجنة"

"Al-Hasan and al-Husayn are the masters of the youth of paradise inhabitants", in addition to other narrations.

The late Amin then says: "The narrations which cause one to think that applying the word *sayyid* to someone other than God is not permissible to mean the real and true Sayyid when applying it to someone other than God, as it was said before."[1] One should note that the saying:

"الحسن والحسين سيدا شباب اهل الجنة"

"Hasan and Husayn are the chiefs of the youths of paradise) has been narrated by Ibn Taymiyyah and he has also said that, in a genuine and correct Hadith which has been narrated from the Prophet (s), the Prophet says the following about Hasan ('a):

"ان ابني هذا سيد"

"Verily, this my son is a master." [2]. Moreover, in the description of Manawi about *Jami' al-Saghir* by Siuti, several narrations where the word *sayyid* has been applied to someone other than God have been mentioned, such as:

"سيد الشهدا عند الله يوم القيامة حمزة بن عبد المطلب"

"The chief of martyrs with God on the day of Resurrection is Hamzah bin Abd al-Muttalib." Also, this word is used in the following Hadiths:

"سيد القوم خادمهم"

1. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 344.
2. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 2, p. 296-298.

"The chief of nation is their servant", and:

"سید الناس آدم و سید العرب محمد و سید الروم صهیب و سید الفرس سلمان و سید الحبشه بلال"

"The chief of people is Adam, the chief of Arabs is Muhammad, the chief of Romans is Suhaib, the chief of Iranians is Salman and the chief of Ethiopia is Bilal."

"و سید الجبال طور سیناء "

"The chief of mountains is Sinai." It is also used in this Hadith:

"و سیدات نساء اهل الجنة اربع مریم و فاطمة و خدیجة و آسیة"

"The mistresses of paradise inhabitants are Maryam, Fatimah, Khadijah and Asiah.".[1]

Another subject with regard to this matter is that the Sa'udi kings are addressed with the word 'Mowlay' both in prose and poetry, as it is seen in the Maccah edition of the Umm Al-Qora newspaper[2]. In this newspaper King Abdul-Aziz is addressed with the word 'Mowlay' and in a panegyric ode which was written to congratulate him in Eid Al-Adhha, the word Ya Mowlaya was used on two occasions. Using this word is usual in all their publications.

However, with regard to addressing the Prophets and Awliyya' Allah and pious ones it is a certainty and it is obvious and evident that what the addresser truly means is not to ask for his needs to be granted by the one whom he addresses but he requests that the one he addresses request it on his behalf from God. When he says help me, it means 'ask God to help me'. Such justifications are accepted by the Wahhabis themselves and for example when God swears by His creations, they say He means to swear by the God of those creations not the creations themselves.

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1. *Sharh Jami' Saghir*, vol. 2, p. 57-58.
2. Dated the 11th of Dhil-Hijja in 1362—Sayyid Al-Morsalin and Sayyidat Nisa' Al-A'lamin have been mentioned repeatedly in the books of Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab.

8- About buildings around and over graves, offering sacrifices and doing nathr for graves, kindling lights near graves, and writing on gravestones

Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman Al Shaykh has said, "The fact that people who kindle lights, write something on graves, or build buildings around graves are cursed is proven in the Prophetic traditions and narrations."[1]

Hafidh Wahba says: "There are four points which one must pay attention to regarding graves:

1- Building on top of graves and doing *ziyarah* of the graves

2- The actions which people do when they are near graves such as *salat* or *dua'* and other matters

3- Domes which are built on top of graves and mosques which are built next to graves

4- Journeying to do *ziyarah* of graves

The *ziyarah* of graves is *mustahab*[2] if it is to learn a lesson, get some advice, to pray for the dead one and to remember the Day of Judgement on the condition that it is in accordance with the *sunnah* of the Prophet (s). However, offering sacrifices for a grave, doing *estighathah* to a grave and prostrating to a grave is *shirk*. Plastering graves, building over them and writing on them are all innovations and they have been prohibited. This is why Wahhabis in Maccah and Medinah levelled graves to the ground which had tall buildings over them. As they did one century ago (meaning one century before the compilation of Hafidh Wahba 's book or around one hundred and forty years ago), when they ruined the domes which were on top of the graves of Maccah and Medinah. Travelling to visit graves is also an innovation."[3]

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1. *Fath Al-Majid,* p. 257.
2. A recommended act.
3. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 340. –While talking about the history of the Wahhabis we shall say that they had occupied Maccah and Medina around one century and a half ago and at that time they ruined some of graves.

In addition, doing *I'tikaaf*[1] near a grave is not only a means of committing *shirk* but rather is *shirk* itself.[2] The heretics are the cause of *shirk* and are the cause of the worshipping of graves and they are the first people to have built buildings on top of graves.[3]

Apart from forbidding the construction of buildings over graves and travelling to do the *ziyarah* of graves, the Wahhabis also believe that reading a Fatiha[4] for the deceased in the grave is not permissible and when the Wahhabis occupied Hejaz, which we shall explain later, whoever read a Fatiha at a grave would be whipped. In 1344 A.H., as soon as they had occupied Hejaz, they threw Shaykh Ahmad and Sharif Sanusi (who are well-known Muslim men) out of Hejaz because of the offence of reading a Fatiha at the grave of Khadija in Maccah.[5]

The Wahhabis also believe that it is not permissible to kindle lights and candles near graves due to the Hadiths they have narrated. Because of this, when Medinah Al-Munawarra[6] was in their possession they forbade the kindling of lights and candles in the Prophet's (s) *rawdha*.[7-8]

Sheik Muhammad says: "Whoever seeks help from someone other than God and offers a sacrifice to someone other than God and does a *nathr* for someone other than God and other such matters is a *kafir*."[9]

Shaykh Muhammad has also mentioned that praying and lighting candles and offering sacrifices are some matters that are related to ignorance.[10]

Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman Al Shaykh (Shaykh Muhammad's grandson) says that: "Whatever designation a *mushrik* puts on the *shirk* that he commits he is still a *mushrik*, such as when one designates the calling

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1. Spiritual retreat.
2. *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 227.
3. *Kitab Al-Tawhid*, p. 246 along with *Fath Al-Majid*.
4. Reciting the first Surah of the Qur'an.
5. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab* in the footnote of the pp. 66-424.
6. The illuminated Medina.
7. The area where the Prophet's (s) grave is located.
8. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab* in the footnote of the pp. 66-424.
9. *Hadiyyah Tayyibah*, p. 83.
10. *Masa'il Al-Jahiliyyah*, p. 50.

of dead ones, offering sacrifices and doing *nathr* for the deceased as an act of honour and love. The *nathr* that are done for the servants, doorkeepers and the neighbours of the graves is a sinful *nathr* and is like doing a *nathr* at India's idol-temple. Also a *nathr* to give candles, oil for light and other similar things for graves is a null and void *nathr*. For example, there is no doubt in the invalidity of the *nathr* to give many candles for the grave of Khalil Al-Rahman (*title of Abraham) and other prophets and Awliyya' Allah. Furthermore lighting the aforementioned candles is Haram whether anyone benefits from its light or not."[1]

The explanation of building over graves, kindling lights, offering sacrifices, doing nathr and writing on graves

What is evident is that from the advent of Islam onwards the building of buildings around and on graves, placing headstones and tablets on graves and writing epitaphs on graves were all customary. With regard to this matter, Allamah Amin says, "The holy body of the Prophet (s) was buried inside the holy cell. If it was not permissible to build on top of graves, then why didn't the devout ancestors and companions of the Prophet (s) ruin the cell? Apart from not ever thinking about destroying the cell, they even renewed the building several times."[2]

Harun Al-Rashid built a dome and hall of audience or audience chamber on the grave of Amir Al-Mu'minin Ali ('a) in Najaf. Other such buildings were built on top of different graves, which have been recorded in history books. No one has objected to these buildings being built.

In general, building over graves has been the *sirah* of all the Islamic sects, and apart from Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers no one has objected to it. Ibn Taymiyyah himself has pointed out many holy sites[3] and domes which were built over graves, and he has pointed out graves which were special and distinguished from other graves in the eyes of the people. He has said, "Under the dome which is over the

1. *Fath Al-Majid*, Sharh Kitab, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, p. 145, 163-164.
2. Bukhari says the following in his book *Sahih*, vol. 2, p. 122: "At the time of Walid bin Abd Al-Malik the wall of the *rowdhah* fell down and so they renewed the *rowdhah*."
3. Place where a martyr has been buried.

grave of Abbas (the uncle of the Prophet -s-) in Medinah, seven people are buried and they are: Abbas, Hasan, Ali bin Al-Husayn , Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin Ali and Ja'far bin Muhammad. It is said that the grave of Fatimah ('a) is underneath the same wall and the head of Imam Husayn ('a) is also buried in the same place."[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers, in contrast, say, "The innovation of constructing buildings over graves was brought into existence after the fifth century." They also say, "Whenever the power to ruin them and demolish them is gained it is not permissible to leave those buildings in existence for even one day because these buildings are not only in the same status as Laat and 'Uzza, but rather, with respect to *shirk*, they are even worse than the two idols Laat and 'Uzza."[2]

With regard to the custom of writing the name of the deceased on a tablet or gravestone and placing it on a grave, which is now also customary, the practice that such stones and tablets were put on graves from the first Hijrah centuries is a certainty due to the witnesses that exist.

Mas'udi has said whilst mentioning the death of Ja'far bin Muhammad Al-Sadiq ('a) that: "He (*Ja'far bin Muhammad Al-Sadiq ('a)) was buried in the Baqi'[3], in the same place his father and grandfather were buried. On top of their graves there is a stone made of marble and the following is written on it:

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم – الحمد لله مبيد الامم ومحي الرمم – هذا قبر فاطمة بنت الرسول الله (ص) سيدة نساء العالمين وقبر الحسن بن علي وعلي بن الحسين بن علي وقبر محمد بن علي و جعفر بن محمد عليهم السلام"

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. All praise to God, the Destroyer of nations and the Reviver of the destroyed, this is the grave of Fatimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (s), the mistress of women of the world, the grave of al-Hasan bin Ali, Ali Bin

1. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra*, vol. 4, p. 449.
2. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 358. –we shall speak later about the buildings which were in the Baqi' from olden times and the state and condition of the graves of the Imams ('a) of the Baqi' before they were ruined.
3. A burial site which exists near the Prophet's (s) grave.

al-Husayn bin Ali, the grave of Muhammad bin Ali and Ja'far bin Muhammad ('a)." [1]

Ibn Jabir (the well-known world explorer of the sixth century) has said, "On Fatimah Bint Asad's grave in the Baqi' it has been written:

"ما ضم قبر احد كفاطمة بنت اسد رضي الله عنها و عن بنيها"

"No grave has embraced a person like the grave of Fatimah Bint Asad."

Ibn Jabir has also said: "On top of the grave of Bilal the *mu'aththin* of the Prophet (s), which is in Damascus, there is a date which has the name of Bilal next to it, and there is also another date which has the following written next to it:

"هذا قبر اوس بن اوس الثقفِى"

"This is the grave of Aws bin Aws al-Thaqafi." In the cemetery called Qubur Al-Shada, situated in Damascus, there is an old date (it appears that the writer means a stone with a date on it) and on it has been written:

"فِى هذا الموضع قبر جماعة من الصحابة"

"Here, mass graves of companions." He has also mentioned the names of the people buried there.[2]

Samhudi narrates, "Aqil bin Abi-Talib, dug out a well in his house. While digging out the well, a stone was seen with the following written on it:

"قبر ام حبيبة بنت صخر بن حرب"

"The grave of Um Habibah bint Sakhar bin Harb."

When Aqil saw the aforementioned stone he filled the well up and he built a building over it. In addition, a stone was found and it had

1. *Muruj Al-Thahab*, vol. 2, p. 285-287) compiled in 332 A.H.
2. *Rihla by Ibn Jabir*, p. 154, 228, 229.

"ام سلمة زوج النبُي"

"Um Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (s)", written on it.

They took out a long stone from under the ground at the Baqi' and saw that the following was written on it:

"هذا قبر ام سلمة زوجة النبي(ص)"

"This is the grave of Um Salamah, the wife of the Prophet (s)." [1]"

Ibn Maja's book, *Sunan*, mentions the following Hadith:

"نهى رسول الله (ص) ان يكتب على القبور"

"The Messenger of God forbade to be written of the graves."

He then writes, "Sindi has quoted from Hakim that after he (*Hakim) states the aforementioned Hadith in the book *Mustadrak* he says, "The documentation of the Hadith is genuine and correct, but it has not been acted out. Things used to be written on the graves of the Muslim Imams of the east and the west and this matter was learnt from the successors, who learnt it from the ancestors."[2] "From the Prophet's (s) time onwards they would make signs and marks for the graves just as the Prophet (s) himself did by putting a stone as a sign on the grave of 'Uthman bin Madhghun."[3]

"The Prophet (s) poured water on the grave of Ibrahim, his child, and made a sign for his grave."[4]

However, with regard to offering sacrifices, the late Allamah Amin says:

"Offering a sacrifice is not only ugly but is blasphemy and *shirk* if it is for someone or something other than God and with the intention to seek proximity to that other[5], and instead of saying God's name when

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1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 3, p. 912. –Umm Habiba, the daughter of Abu Sufyan, is one of the wives of the Prophet (s). Sakhr is the name of Abu Sufyan.
2. *Sunan Ibn Maja*, vol. 1, p. 498.
3. Ibid.
4 Ibn Abdul-Aziz in the book *Isti'ab*, vol. 1, p. 26.
5. The writer of the book *Fath Al-Majid* (in his description of the book by Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab) has said**:** "لو ذبح لغير الله متقربا اليه يحرم" – "Slaughtering for someone or something other than God with the intention of seeking proximity to that other is prohibited", and he says in a marginal note, "It is

slaughtering (an animal) the name of a creature is said while the slaughterer believes that creature to be the same as God. The Wahhabis think that other Muslims offer this sort of sacrifice but this is not correct and is not at all in accordance with reality because the offering of a sacrifice that the Muslims do near graves is the same as a sacrifice that is offered to God. The doer of this action has no other intention but to think: I slaughter this animal in the way of God so that I can give away his meat to the poor and other slaves of God as alms, and I present the reward (*I gain for doing this) to the owner of the grave. A sacrifice which is offered with this intention is praiseworthy and a preferable action and is counted as a part of worship and obedience to God, whether he gives its reward as a present to the Prophet (s) or one of the Awliyya' Allah or to his father and mother or someone else. When slaughtering, no Muslim has the intention of idol worshippers who believe slaughtering is a facility by which they can seek closeness. The answer to doing *nathr* is exactly the same as what was mentioned above."

Regarding the matter of lighting candles and lights in the area of graves, first of all, the chain of evidence or transmission the Wahhabis rely on is weak and unsound. Supposing that this act is not permissible based upon correctness of evidence, then it is not permissible due to a lack of benefit for lighting candles and lights that would make it a waste of money or its prohibition was meant for other graves, not the graves of the Prophets and Awliyya' Allah.

However, lighting candles and lights in the area where the grave is, is neither *makruh*[1] nor *haram* if it is done to be able to read Qur'an and *dua'* and to perform prayers and for the visitor or the people who stay in cemeteries from night till the morning to be peaceful and at ease. This act is actually based on helping one another in piety and goodness and *taqwa*[2] and God has ordered us to do so in the Qur'an:

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the greater *shirk* and it is evident that the slaughtering the Muslims do near graves is only done with the intention of seeking proximity to God not for the deceased of the grave."

1. Disapproved yet not prohibited.
2. God fearing/piety/virtue.

﴿وَتَعَاوَنُواْ عَلَى ٱلۡبِرِّ وَٱلتَّقۡوَىٰ﴾

"but help ye one another unto righteousness and pious duty". [1]

Furthermore, Tirmithi has quoted from Ibn Abbas that the Prophet (s) went to a grave in the night and they lit a light for him. According to the saying of 'Azizi in *Sharh Jami' Saghir*, the forbidding of lighting lights near graves is related to whether it has a benefit for the living ones or not.[2] (*i.e. it was not forbidden due to Hadiths or sayings by the Prophet (s) but rather due to whether it had benefit for the living or not.)

The explanation about the saying that the heretics brought about shirk and the worshipping of the graves while they were the first people to build a mosque near graves

What causes great regret is that sometimes a difference in beliefs and even a difference in taste or a difference in the understanding one has of some of the Hadiths, leads to enmity and religious prejudice, and in such a case the views of the opposite side are not accepted however logical and reasonable they may be. In addition, whatever he (*the opposite side) does is wrong and seems to be unlawful. From the time that the followers of the Shi'ah sect, for various reasons, were subjected to the hatred of some other Islamic sects (we have repeatedly pointed this out in this book), any usual and normal act the Shi'ah did was displayed differently. Furthermore, the others also did not neglect making different types of accusations towards the Shi'ah.

For instance the matter of *ziyarah* is denied and renounced by Ibn Taymiyyah and the Wahhabis, even though all the Islamic sects did it before and do it now. Furthermore, after the second century, graves which belonged to the great people of the *Mathahib Al-Arba'ah*[3] became a place of pilgrimage and visiting for the common and noble people of the aforesaid sects.

Even today in the Prophet's mosque (s) and opposite the holy *rawdhah* and burial chamber of the Prophet (s) there is always a large

1. Surah Al-Ma'ida, verse 2..
2. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 346, 424.
3. Four legal schools.

group of people standing and those who read *ziyarats*, read *ziyarats* which are specific to the Prophet (s), Abu Bakr and Omar. The sentences which exist in these *ziyarats* are the same as the sentences the Shi'ah read near the holy burial chamber of the Prophet (s) and their Imams. When the followers of the other sects do this, they are not subject to objections and abjurations; however, when the Shi'ah does it, the *ziyarah* is interpreted as worship the one that performed it is called a *mushrik*. What do the Shi'ah read when reading *ziyarah* that the others don't read? What do they do that the others don't do?[1]

However, with regard to the issue that is quoted from Sheik Abd Al-Rahman, who was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's grandson, which states, "The Shi'ah were the first to cause *shirk* and the worshipping of the graves and were the first to build mosques on graves", an explanation is given in the footnote of the related page from the book *Fath Al-Majid* which is written by Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman. The explanation is that the Ubaidiyun, who call themselves Badrugh Fatimi, are the first people to build a mosque near a grave. Here we are talking about the great dome and building which was built for the grave of Husayn ('a) in Cairo and the famous mosque they built next to it.

We must point out that the visiting of graves (according to the interpretation of the Wahhabis, the 'worship of the graves'), and also the building of buildings around graves and placing domes over graves was not only done by the Shi'ah, but rather *all* the Islamic sects built magnificent buildings for the graves of their great people and this was done in the first Hijrah centuries. They would also visit the graves and place *mowqufat*[2] for them and they still continue do so.

A tall and white dome has existed on the grave of Abu Hanifah in Baghdad from a long time ago, and Ibn Jubair has described it.[3] Today the grave of Abu Hanifah in Baghdad has a magnificent dome and hall of audience and is the visiting place of thousands of people who come

1. How the Shi'ah do *ziyarah* of the graves was discussed when mentioning the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah.
2. Endowed properties
3. *Rehlah by Ibn Jabir*, p. 180.

from far and close. The grave of Ahmad Hanbal[1], Shaykh Abd Al-Qadir in Baghdad, Shafi'i in Qurafa in Egypt, and tens of other graves which belong to the *Mathahib Al-Arba'ah* are pilgrimage centres and visiting sites around the Islamic countries.

Before the Wahhabis occupation in Najd and Hejaz, there were many graves with domes and halls of audiences and buildings. People would go to visit these places and they had many beliefs with regard to them. Therefore, to claim that the Shi'ah were the initiators and creators of the *ziyarah* of the graves has no basis at all and is unfounded.

Building over and around graves is not confined to the Shi'ah at all either, and in fact building around graves was customary for all the Islamic sects from the first Hijrah centuries.

Ibn Khalakan says, "In 459 Sharaf Al-Mulk Abu Sa'ad Khawarizmi, who was the state accountant of Malik Shah Seljuk, built a site and dome on the grave of Abu Hanifah. He also built a school for the Hanafi sect near the grave. It seems that Abu Sa'ad built the aforementioned building by order of Aalub Arsalan Seljuk."[2]

According to the writings of Ibn Abd Al-Barr (who died in 463) the grave of Abu Ayub Ansari can be seen from outside the Constantinople wall in Istanbul and is honoured by the people, and when rain comes late they do *tawassul*[3] to it.[4]

Ibn Jawzi says when describing the events that took place in 389 that: "The Sunni people go to visit the grave of Mus'ab bin Al-Zubair just like the Shi'ah go to visit the grave of Husayn ('a)."[5]

The famous world explorer Ibn Jubair has said, "The grave of Malik, the leader of the Maliki sect, is in the Baqi' cemetery and has a small

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1. Ibn Khalkaan says, "The grave of Ahmad Hanbal is famous and people go to visit it.", vol. 1, p. 48.
2. *Wafiyyat Al-A'yan,* vol. 5, p. 46-47.
3. To implore for help, to supplicate and to resort to someone other than God.
4. *Isti'ab,* vol. 1, p. 404 - The writers of the Sunni sect have mentioned miracles that were performed by graves. Dhahabi says when describing the events of the year 725 that: "All around the grave of Ahmad Hanbal was flooded with water but it did not go inside the cell which had the burial chamber in it even though the height of the water in the cell's vestibule was one cubit." (*Dowal Al-Islam*, vol. 4, p. 178.
5. *Al-Montadham*, vol. 7, p. 206.

dome and a short building. In front of it the grave of Ibrahim the Prophet's (s) son exists, which has a white dome on top of it."[1]

Many topics with regard to the graves of the great people of Mathahib Al-Arba'ah, the domes and buildings that used to be around them, the *nathr* that were done for them, *i'tikaaf*[2] that was done there, performance of *tawassul* and honouring the deceased in the grave, and believing that prayers would be answered there, can be found in history books. Today in Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and other Islamic areas, one can see many examples of these graves and one can see the customs and traditions that take place next to them.

However, with regard to the claim that the Shi'ah were the first people that built mosques near graves or on graves (in other words they made their graves into mosques), there are several matters which one must note:

First of all, according to the Shi'ah beliefs praying in a cemetery is *makruh*[3]; therefore, believing that a cemetery is the same as a mosque is not in accordance with Shi'ah beliefs. (As we said when explaining Ibn Taymiyyah's beliefs, Malik believes praying in a cemetery is permissible and Abu Hanifah and a group of others believe it to be *makruh*).

Secondly, the mosques that the Shi'ah have built near graves are totally separate from the cemeteries and are situated at a distance from the cemeteries. The mosque where the head of Imam Husayn ('a) is buried, which has been subjected to severe disapproval and abjuration by the writer of the footnotes of *Fath Al-Majid*, is totally separate from the cemetery. You can only enter the cemetery from one of the doors of the mosque; in other words, the prayer area is separate and the area for reading *ziyarats* is also separate. The distance of the Shi'ah mosques and the sites is greater than the distance of the Prophet's (s) holy *rawdhah* and the Prophet's (s) mosque.

Thirdly, building mosques near graves was not a sole characteristic of the Shi'ah; on the contrary, other Islamic sects also built mosques near

1. *Rehlah*, p. 153, Ibn Battuta has described how big the dome over the grave of Uthman is when describing the graves of the Baqi', vol. 1, p. 76.
2. Spiritual retreat/ retire from the world for some time (in a holy mosque or shrine).
3. Disapproved yet not unlawful.

graves in the olden times. For example, in Ibn Al-Jawzi's description of the events of the year 386 he says, "In the month of Muharram of this year the people of Basrah claimed that they exhumed a dead person that was still fresh without decay who they believed was Zubair bin Al-'Awwam from a grave and that he had a sword and clothes on, and so they wrapped him with a shroud and buried him. Then Abu Al-Misk built a building over his grave and made it a mosque."[1]

In Basrah they built a dome on the grave of Talhah, who was killed in the Jamal battle, and they also built a mosque and shrine beside it.[2]

With regard to saying that the Fatimi sect were the first to build a mosque near a grave (i.e. the site of the head of Husayn ('a)) there are two points which are of importance:

1- According to the writings of Maqrizi, they brought the holy head of Imam Husayn ('a) from 'Asqalan, which is in Damascus, to Cairo on Sunday the 8th of Jumada Al-Akhirah in 548. The building over it was built in 549.

On this date the Fatimi sect was on the verge of an overthrow and the reins of the government were in the hands of their minister. One of the powerful ministers of that time is the famous Dalayi' bin Razzik who the caliph wanted to catch and take captive. The enmity between these two (the caliph and Razzik) grew so strong that the caliph thought of a way to kill him and in the end the caliph's plan worked and he was killed.[3]

Dalayi' is the person who took measures to bring the head of Imam Husayn ('a) to Cairo and to bury it in its present place.[4]

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1. *Al-Montadham*, vol. 7, p. 187.
2. *Khatat*, vol. 2, p. 284.
3. *Ibn Khalkaan*, vol. 2, p. 209.
4. *Khatat*, vol. 2, p. 284. –However, Abu Bakr Dawadari, has written in his book *Kanz Al-Durar*, that the date of the burial of the holy head was in 544, vol. 6, p. 549. He has also explained the events that took place and said, "The head of Imam Husayn ('a) was buried in A'sqalan after it was paraded around the cities (at the time of Yazid). When the English dominated A'sqalan (in the crusade wars), Abbas, the minister of Dhafir Fatimi, found out about this matter and after he was sure that the head was buried in A'sqalan he exchanged letters with the English to hand over

2- However, the mosque which is connected to the site of the head of Husayn (‘a) has no relation to the Fatimi sect whatsoever. It was in fact built years after the fall of the Fatimi dynasty, at the time of Salah Al-Din Ayubi, who was the overthrower and enemy of the Fatimi sect. It was built by Salah’s minister who was called Qadhi Fadhil Abd Al-Rahman who died in 596. His minister also built an ablution area and an area for drinking water and some properties were endowed so that their income could be used for the mosque’s expenses.[1]

9- Ziyarah of the grave of the Prophet (s)

It was said earlier when mentioning Ibn Taymiyyah’s beliefs that with regard to the matter of doing *ziyarah* of the Prophet’s (s) grave Ibn Taymiyyah has said, “No Hadith exists that gives us reason to believe that the *ziyarah* of the mausoleum[2] of the Prophet (s) is recommended. Hadiths which have been narrated with regard to this matter are incorrect and forged.” He has also said, “If anyone believes that the existence of the Prophet (s) after his death is like his existence when he was alive, he has made a great mistake.”

The Wahhabis also have these same views and have even gone further than what Ibn Taymiyyah has said.

In general, in the Wahhabi lands, an act called *ziyarah* does not exist and all the graves are levelled with the ground. The holy *rawdhah* of the Prophet (s), which they have not destroyed, is watched over in such a way that no one can get close to it and the holy resting place cannot be seen at all.

The four sides of the *rawdhah* have walls and on every side there is a section where they have placed a latticed window, and a guard stands in front of that window and stops the people from getting close. If anyone can get past the guards when they are not paying attention and look at the *rawdhah* through the openings, at first he will see nothing but a dark space but after his eyes get used to the dark and he can tell where the *rawdhah* is, he will see that there are thick curtains hung

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the holy head and in return the English were given the right to occupy the city of A’sqalan. He took the head and buried it in Cairo.”

1. *Khatat,* vol. 2, p. 285.

2. A room made of metal or stone in which a dead person is laid or buried.

from the ceiling to the floor around the *rawdhah* and there is no way one can see the mausoleum of the holy Prophet (s).

We have discussed the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers with regard to honouring the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s) and the difference between honouring the Prophet's (s) grave and other graves, and so there is no need to repeat it.

The explanation of the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's mausoleum being recommended

It is necessary here to mention some of the Hadiths which are related to the lawfulness of the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave as being *mustahab*, and Hadiths that are related to the Prophet (s) hearing one who sends *salams* to him and his answering back. This is necessary so that it can be made clear that what Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers have said about the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s), which we mentioned some of earlier on, is totally inconsistent with the subject matter of these Hadiths which have all been narrated by the Sunni sect.

Taqi Al-Din Subki (died in 756 A.H.) has narrated fifteen explicitly stated Hadiths about the *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) holy mausoleum in the first chapter of his book *Shifa' al-Siqam fi Ziyarah Khayr al-Anam*. For example, he narrates the following Hadith:

"من زارني متعمداً كان في جواري يوم القيامة"

"Whoever intends to and purposely does my *ziyarah* will be my neighbour and under my refuge on the Day of Resurrection."
Another Hadith is:

"ما من احد من أمتي له سعة ثم لم يزرني فليس له عذر"

"Whoever has the strength and does not come to do my *ziyarah* no excuse will be accepted from him."[1]

Noor Al-Din Samhudi has also mentioned seventeen Hadiths regarding the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s) in the chapter related to the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s) in his book *Wafa' al-Wafa bi-`Akhbar Dar al-Mustafa*. He has for example narrated the following Hadith from Darqutni and Bayhaqi from Ibn Umar which says that the Prophet said:

1. *Shifaa Al-Siqam*, p. 3-34.

"من زار قبرى حلت له شفاعتى"

"Whoever visits my grave, my intercession is obligatory upon him."

Samhudi has established the different routes of the chain of transmission of the above Hadith.

Another Hadith narrated by Bazzaz who narrates it from Abdullah bin Ibrahim Ghifari who narrates it from Ibn 'Umar who narrates it from the Prophet (s) is as follows:

" من زار قبري حلت له شفاعتي"

"Whoever does the *ziyarah* of my grave, my intercession will reach him."

Ibn Adi has quoted from Ibn Umar who has quoted the Prophet's (s) saying which is as follows:

"من جاءني زائراً لا تحمله حاجة الا زيارتي كان حقا على ان اكون له شفيعاً يوم القيامة"

"Whoever comes to do my *ziyarah*, and apart from doing my *ziyarah* has no other intention, it is for me to be his intercessor on the Day of Resurrection."

Darqutni has quoted from Tabarani, who has quoted from Ibn 'Umar, who has quoted from the Prophet (s) that:

"من حجّ فزار قبري بعد وفاتي كان كمن زارني في حياتي"

"Whoever performs Hajj after my death and then performs my *ziyarah*, is like a person who has visited me in my lifetime."

Ibn Adi has quoted from Ibn Umar, who has quoted from the holy Prophet (s) that:

"من حجّ البيت و لم يزرني فقد جفاني"

"Whoever performs Hajj and does not come to visit me has truly done an injustice to me."

Darqutni has quoted from Habib that the Prophet (s) has said:

"من زارني بعد موتي فكانما زارني في حياتي"

"Whoever, visits me after my death, is like someone who has visited me in my lifetime."

Abu Sa'id bin Muhammad Al-Ya'qubi has quoted from Abu Hurairah, who quotes the Prophet's (s) saying, which is as follows:

"من زارني بعد موتي فكانما زارني و انا حي ومن زارني كنت له شهيداً او شفيعاً يوم القيامة"

"Whoever visits me after my death, it is like he has visited me in my lifetime and whoever visits me, I will be his witness (and according to another saying I will be his intercessor) on the Day of Resurrection."

We have quoted from Ibn Abi al-Dunya, who has quoted from Anas bin Malik who says that the Prophet (s) has said:

"من زارني بالمدينة كنت له شهيدا و شفيعا يوم القيامة"

"Whoever visits me in Medinah, I will be his intercessor and his witness on the Day of Resurrection."[1]

Siuti has quoted a saying from the Prophet (s) in his book *Al-Jami' Al-Saghir* which is as follows:

"من زارني بالمدينة محتسباً كنت له شهيداً و شفيعاً يوم القيامة"

"Whoever visits me in Medinah with the intention of receiving *thawab*, I will confess to his good act on the Day of Resurrection and I will intercede for him."[2]

There are several other Hadiths concerning this topic which have been narrated by Amir Al-Mu'minin ('a), Ibn Abbas and Bakr bin Abdullah. Samhudi has mentioned these Hadiths.

The writer of the book *'Umdat Al-Akhbar*, which is one of the books which are reliable and trustworthy in the eyes of the Wahhabis has said, "Visiting the grave of Sayyid Al-Awwalin wa Al-Aakhirin[3] (s) in the holy mausoleum, is a way to achieve closeness to God, and whoever has a peaceable nature and a straightforward disposition does

1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*, vol. 2, p. 1336 onwards.
2. *Sharh Jami' Saghir*, p. 297 –The third chapter of Subki's book *Shifa' Al-Siqam* is about some of the companions and some others who travelled to visit the holy grave of the Prophet (s) and they had no other intention but to visit the Prophet's (s) grave. One example is Bilal, who was the the *mu'aththin* of the Prophet (s), and who travelled from Damascus to Medina to visit the holy grave of the Prophet (s). *Shifa' Al-Siqam*, from p. 143 onwards.
3. The chief of the first and last, a title of Prophet Muhammad (s).

not doubt this, considering it is visiting the grave of a Prophet (s) who has been praised by God in the Qur'an on several occasions."

The afore-mentioned writer has mentioned the verses of the Qur'an which praise the Prophet (s) and several Hadiths which are related to the Prophet (s) and then says, "The reasons which have been given to prove the lawfulness of visiting the holy grave are many and we will point out the best of them." He then quotes a Hadith from Abu Hurairah in which the Prophet (s) said, "Visit the graves, because this act will remind you of the hereafter." In continuation to the discussion regarding the virtues of visiting graves, he has said that: "To be buried next to pious ones is recommended. Visiting graves at night is also recommended and this is because Muslim has quoted from 'Aiyshah that the Prophet (s) visited the Baqi' Cemetery at night."[1]

However, concerning the matter of sending *salams* to the Prophet (s) after his death, Abu Dawud has quoted from a correct chain of transmission of Hadiths from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet (s) used to say:

"ما من أحد يسلم عليّ الا ردّ الله روحي حتّى اردّ عليه السلام"

"Whoever sends *salams* to me, God returns my soul to me so that I can reply to his *salaam*."[2]

With regard to the Prophet's (s) knowledge after his death al-Munthiri has narrated that the Prophet (s) says:

"علمي بعد وفاتي كعلمي في حياتي"

"My knowledge after my death is the same as the knowledge I had in my lifetime."

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1. *'Umdat Al-Akhbar* by Shaykh Ahmad Abbasi, who is one of the scholars of the tenth century, p. 22-26. –The Hadith related to the visiting of graves has been narrated in several different forms by Ahmad Hanbal. *Musnad Ahmad*, vol. 3, p. 237, 250 and vol. 5, pp. 350, 355, 356, 357, 359; and also by *Sunan Abi Daud*, vol. 3, p. 212, *Bukhari*, vol. 2, p. 122 and *Jami' Al-Saghir* by Siuti, vol. 1, p. 162.
2. *Samhudi*, vol. 4, p. 1349 and *Kitab Majmu'at Al-Tawhid,* p. 522.

Bayhaqi has said that: "We have evidence at hand, which comes from genuine and correct Hadiths to prove that the prophets live on after their passing."[1]

10- About the status of the Prophet (s)

Alusi, who is one of the serious Wahhabi supporters, has explained the Wahhabi beliefs regarding the status of the Prophet (s) in detail. He has said, "The rank and status of the Prophet (s) is absolutely higher than all the people and he is alive in his grave and whoever sends *salams* to him he will hear it. The life of the Prophet (s) after death is more obvious than the life of the martyrs. God has specified the following in the Qur'an about the lives of the martyrs:

"و لا تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله امواتاً بل احياء عند ربهم يرزقون"[2]

Do not suppose those who were slain in the way of Allah to be dead; rather they are living and provided for near their Lord.

Even though Ibn Taymiyyah has said in his *fatwas* that: "The dead in the graves speak and hear other people's speaking and in the grave they are subjected to questions and answers"[3], as we quoted from the book *Al-Radd Ala Al-Akhna'i* he believes that the Hadiths which are related to the *ziyarah* of the Prophet (s) are forged. He also says that "If someone believes that the existence of the Prophet (s) after his death is like his existence in his life time he has committed a big mistake." A more severe form of the same belief has been expressed by Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and his followers. Therefore, one must say that the beliefs and words of Alusi are inconsistent with what Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers say and believe in.

Hafidh Wahba says in defence to the Wahhabi belief regarding the status of the Prophet (s) that:

> "It has been attributed to Shaykh Muhammad and his followers, just like it was attributed to Ibn Taymiyyah and his

1. *Samhudi*, vol. 4, p. 1352 –He has spoken in detail about this topic and to prove his beliefs he has quoted Hadiths which have reached him in different ways.
2. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 50, Surah Ali 'Imran, verse 169.
3. *Al-Fatawa al-Kubra, vol.* 2, p. 217. –When normal people are such, the status of the Prophet (s) is obvious.

students, that they look at the Prophet (s) with eyes of aversion and loathsomeness and that they have brought down the status of the Prophet Muhammad (s) and other prophets. The source of the aforesaid attribution to the Wahhabis is the belief the people of Najd (the Wahhabis) have because of their reliance on the following Hadith:

"لا تشدوا الرحال الا إلى ثلاثة مساجد المسجد الحرام و مسجدي هذا والمسجد الأقصى"

"Do travel only to three mosques, al-Haram mosque, this my mosque and al-Aqsa mosque".

They believe that travelling to visit the graves of the prophets and pious people is an innovation, and that none of the companions or followers of the Prophet (s) did so and the Prophet (s) has not commanded us to do so.

Secondly, the People of Najd (Wahhabis) forbid anyone from reading *dua'* at the Prophet's (s) grave and other graves, forbid prostrating near the Prophet's (s) grave and other graves, forbid putting their hands on the graves, forbid rubbing themselves with the dirt of graves and in general they forbid any act or matter that has an aspect of *estighathah* or entreaty in it.

Thirdly, the Wahhabis destroy domes and buildings which are built over graves and they believe the endowments that are given for the graves are not valid and are void.

Fourthly, they reject the subject matter of some of the verses of Busiri's Qasida[1] which praise the Prophet (s) such as the verse:

"يا اكرم الخلق ما لي من ألوذ به سواك عند حلول الحادث العمم"

"Oh most honourable creature of God, when many and great future happenings land (*i.e. occur) I have no place of refuge apart from you". This partial verse is also renounced:

"و من علومك علم اللوح و القلم"

1. Ode, panegyric ode, elegy or satirical poem.

"Oh Prophet (s), among your knowledge, is the knowledge of Qalam[1] and Lowh[2]". The following verse is also rejected:

"ان لم تكن في معادي آخذاً بيدي فضلاً والا فقل يا زلة القدم"

"If on the Day of Judgement you do not hold my hand due to your grace, my leg will shake.

These words are idle talk and exaggerations and are against the Qur'anic texts and are against correct and genuine Hadiths."

Hafidh Wahba then says, "The Wahhabis also believe that whoever believes in the apparent meanings and in the literal meanings of these words is a *mushrik* and a *kafir*. These few matters have caused the enemies of the Wahhabis to accuse them and say that they look at the Prophet (s) with aversion and loathsomeness. Other things have also been attributed to the Wahhabis such as believing that their walking stick is better than the Prophet (s)."

In continuation of the aforesaid matter, Hafidh Wahba says, "The truth is that, the people of Najd (Wahhabis) like loving the Prophet (s) more than anyone else but they think exaggerating is an ugly act and they fight with any innovation. They say that to love the Prophet (s) is to follow his guidance, but innovations, stopping religious matters from being carried out, and going after whims and desires is making religion and the Prophet (s) seem ugly not showing affection to the Prophet (s)."[3]

It appears from this that the well-informed and the well-travelled Wahhabi men, such as Hafidh Wahba, tried to adjust and defend the extreme beliefs of some of the bigoted Wahhabis, which were far from logic and equity, and tried to make them seem more acceptable. They either did this or they tried to renounce the beliefs and call them attributions to the Wahhabis and accusations made by their enemies.

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1. Engraving tool, pen, pencil.
2. Tablet, slate, board.
3. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 343, 344. –The subject of the walking stick and even worse beliefs are found in the Wahhabis books such as in the book *Kholasat Al-Kalam*. Refer to the book *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 139.

11- Their belief about the Salaf Salih[1]

Sultan Abdul-Aziz bin Sa‘ud, who apart from having the status of kingship is also counted as one of the Wahhabi scholars, said in a detailed speech in the month of Dhil-Hijja in 1362 A.H. that: “The Prophet (s) said that his people would soon be divided into seventy three sects and all would be in the fire except one sect. The companions asked: “Which sect is that?” He said: “Those who follow my way and my companion’s ways”.” Ibn Sa‘ud then continued, “God has confirmed his religion by means of the four caliphs[2] and the Salaf Salih.”[3]

The Wahhabis believe that the rightly guided caliphs are chosen by the Salaf Salih and their superiority is in the order of their caliphate and after the caliphs (*in order of superiority) are the rest of the Ashrah Mubashrah[4]. After them are the people of Badr, and after them are the People of *Bay’ah* of Shajara[5].

What is surprising is that Wahhabis narrate some virtues and merits of Ali (‘a); however, they do not have narrations which show that the other companions of the Prophet (s), or even the first caliph, possess those attributes.[6]

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab has not mentioned any virtue for any of the caliphs apart from what the Prophet (s) said about Ali (‘a) in the battle of Khaybar, which was: “Tomorrow I will place knowledge in the hands of someone who loves God and the Prophet, and God and

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1. Devout anscestors.
2. In order they are Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthman, Ali (‘a).
3. The *Umm Al-Qora* newspaper, Maccah edition No. 989.
4. According to the narrations of the Sunni sect the Prophet (s) gave the good news of entering paradise to ten emigrants from the Quraish tribe. Four of them are the four caliphs and the rest are: Talhah, Zubair, Abd Al-Rahman bin Awf, Sa’d bin Abi Waqqas, Abu ‘Ubaidah Jarrah and Sa’id bin Zayd.
5. What is meant by the sworn allegiance of Shajarah which is also called the Bay‘ah of Ridhwaan, is that in the sixth Hijrah year, the Prophet (s) travelled towards Maccah with a group of his companions intending to perform ‘Umrah. At Hudaybiyya near Maccah the *mushriks* did not let them enter Maccah. There the companions of the Prophet (s), who exceeded one thousand people, swore allegiance with him on the basis that if a war were needed against the *mushriks*, they would not hold back and would battle.
6. *Hathihi Hiya Al-Wahhabiyyah,* p. 100.

the Prophet also love him, and God has placed the opening of Khaybar in his hands."[1]

Ibn Taymiyyah has also mentioned the aforesaid Hadith.[2] According to Ibn Taymiyyah, "By saying this Hadith, the Prophet (s) has professed to Ali ('a) having both inward faith and outward faith. Also, Ali's ('a) friendship with God and the Prophet (s) has been proven in this saying thus becoming obligatory for the Mu'minin to love Ali ('a)."[3]

12- The Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (s)

Ibn Taymiyyah says in his *fatwas* that "The Prophet (s) put his *kisa*[4] around Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn and said:

"اللهم هؤلاء اهل بيتي فاذهب الرجس عنهم و طهّرهم تطهيرا"

"Oh God, these are my Ahl al-Bayt, make impurity far from them and purify them thoroughly."[5]

Ibn Taymiyyah also says that: "We are a part of those people who like the household of the Prophet (s), and we will act out the testament the Prophet (s) gave on the Day of Ghadir Khum. On this day he said: "I remind you of my Ahl al-Bayt" and he repeated this sentence.[6]"

Ibn Taymiyyah also says, "The Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (s) have rights which are obligatory for one to respect and abide by. One of those rights is the right that God has given them in receiving *khums*[7] and booties. Another is that he has commanded us to send *salawah*[8] for the Ahl al-Bayt after sending *salawah* for the Prophet (s). The household of Muhammad (s) are people for whom it is prohibited to receive *sadaqah*[9]."[1]

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1. *Kitab Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab* (the tenth thesis, p. 131).
2. *Al-Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 370.
3. *Fath Al-Majid*, p. 95.
4. A loose cloak open in the front worn by men.
5. *Al-Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 262.
6. *Aqa'id Al-Wasitiyyah* (the ninth thesis from *Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il*, vol. 1 p. 408.
7. When a specific amount of money or a property or belonging has not been used for one year since it was bought or received then it is obligatory for one to pay one fifth of its worth to the needy.
8. Reciting 'Oh God bless Muhammad and his descendants'.
9. Voluntary Islamic charity.

Alusi has said with regard to the Wahhabi beliefs concerning the Ahl al-Bayt that: "They have the same beliefs as what has reached us from the Qur'an and Sunnah about them and they have faith in the virtues and good qualities that have reached us about the status of the Ahl al-Bayt. However, they put the quarrelsome stand which they took about the Prophet (s) and his companions and the prejudice which hung on to falseness like a condition to one side. To love the household of the Prophet (s) shows the faith of every person. They are the inheritors of God's light and sending *salawah* for them makes prayer correct and is the culmination of prayer."

Alsui then says, "The princes and scholars of Najd would always stop the common people from discussing the words that were said about the household of the Prophet (s) and the Prophet's (s) companions. They would also stop the common people from being bigoted, because bigotry pushes away what is just and true from its place, and (in any case) the Wahhabis do not exaggerate regarding love of the Ahl al-Bayt."[2]

Shaykh Abdul-Aziz who was a teacher in the school which belonged to the leader of the Wahhabi ideology (Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab), has said the following with regard to this matter: "The Ahl al-Bayt of the Prophet (s) are people for whom *sadaqah* is prohibited. The most virtuous of them are Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn ." Shaykh Abdul-Aziz then quotes a Prophetic narration from Ahmad Hanbal. A short account of it is that the Prophet (s) put his garment or *kisa* (*cloak) on Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn and read this verse:

﴿ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمُ ٱلرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ ٱلْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا ﴾

"Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! and to purify you a (thorough) purifying."[3]

The Prophet (s) then said:

"اللهمّ هؤلاء أهل بيتي واهل بيتي احق"

1. *Resalat Al-Wasiyyat Al-Kubra* (the seventh thesis from *Majmu'at Al-Rasa'il al-Kubra*, vol. 1, p. 303.
2. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 47.
3. Surah Al-Ahsab, verse:33.

"Oh God these are my household and my household are more worthy than others".

Therefore, loving the Ahl al-Bayt and honouring them is obligatory for us because they are the relatives and kinsmen of the Prophet (s). Apart from this they have more experience in Islam, and they endured tortures in the way of helping religion, and they also have other virtues. Thus, respecting them and loving them and showing affection to them is to honour the Prophet (s) and is to obey the commands of the Qur'an and Sunnah as God has said in the Qur'an:

﴿ قُل لَّآ أَسۡـَٔلُكُمۡ عَلَيۡهِ أَجۡرًا إِلَّا ٱلۡمَوَدَّةَ فِي ٱلۡقُرۡبَىٰ ﴾

"Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives."[1-2]

13- Usul Al-Din[3] and Furu' Al-Din[4]

According to Alusi, the beliefs of the Wahhabis about *usul al-din* are the same as the beliefs of the Sunni sect and its congregation, and their ways are the same as the ways of the Salaf. They accept and look at the literal meaning of Quranic verses and Hadiths and leave the true meaning to God. They believe good and evil depend on God's Will and God's slave is not able to create his own actions. God gives reward because of His grace and God gives punishment and requitals because of His justice. They also believe that the *mu'minin* will see God on the Day of Resurrection.[5]

However, in *usul al-din* they follow Ahmad Hanbal and they do not take fault in any of the followers of the four legal schools but

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1. Surah Az-Zujruf, verse: 23.
2. *Al-As'ilah wa al-Ajwibah fi 'Aqidah Al-Wasitiyyah*, p. 257.
3. The fundamental principles of Islam.
4. Obligatories of Islam.
5. Subject matter of the blessed verse:

﴿وُجُوهٞ يَوۡمَئِذٖ نَّاضِرَةٌ ٢٢ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهَا نَاظِرَةٞ ٢٣﴾

"Some faces will be fresh on that day, looking at their Lord." Surah Al-Qiyama, verse 22-23. We have discussed the matter of vision in the opinion of Ibn Taymiyyah and the Wahhabis previously.

renounce the beliefs of the followers of other schools such as the Shi'ah and Zaydiyyah schools.

In addition, if it is proved and made certain to them that a particular issue is confirmed and supported by one of the Sunni sects apart from the Hanbali sect, and an explicit and clear text from the Qur'an or a non-abolished Sunnah regarding the matter exists and there is no stronger opponent or determining principle against it, then they will follow that sect or school of thought on that issue. In such a case, they will not follow the school of thought of Ahmad Hanbal, on that issue.

The Wahhabis do not inspect anyone's religion or school of thought and they do not interfere with or disturb anyone unless they see something which is openly against the four schools of thought. They find it permissible to do *ijtihad*[1] in some matters and issues[2] (here we mean the permissibility to discriminate in *ijtihad*, meaning that one can be a Mujtahid[3] in some matters and follow someone else in other matters). With regard to *usul al-din* and *furu' al-din*, Ibn Sa'ud says, " We follow the Qur'an in *usul* and in *furu'* we follow the school of thought of Ahmad Hanbal, and no one has the right to act according to his own opinion in religious matters."[4]

14- Acting upon the literal meaning of the ayahs and Hadiths and opposing allegorical explanations[5]

The beliefs of the Wahhabis are based on Ibn Taymiyyah's opinions and *fatwas*. Ibn Taymiyyah says, "It is necessary for the people to place the words of God and the Prophet (s) as a basis which they must

1. Independent reasoning and judgement/ to form an opinion on a point of religious law/ exegesis of divine law on matters of theology and law.
2. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 48.
3. Religious jurist/ expert in Islamic jurisprudence.
4. From a letter that Ibn Sa'ud wrote to the Ikhwan group on Dhil-Qa'dahh in 1332 A.H. - The text of the letter is found in the book *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 155. –As it is observed these words and beliefs are a little inconsistent with what we quoted from Alusi before.
5. One of the first sects who said that one must take hold of and resort to the literal meanings of the Qur'an's words and Hadiths is the Dhahiriyyah sect, the followers of Dawu Dhahiri Isfahani (third century). (With regard to the *fiqh* dictionary of the Dhahiri sect, refer to the book *Tabaqat Al-Fuqaha'* by Shaykh Abu Ishaq Shirazi).

follow and place him as their leader whether they understand and perceive the words or they don't understand them.

"It is also necessary for the people to believe and have faith in the words and the texts of the Qur'an and the words of the Prophet (s) even if they do not know their true meaning. It is not permissible for any words apart from the words of God and the Prophet (s) to be placed as a basis and root. As long as the meaning of a word is unclear it is not obligatory to confirm and attest to it, and that saying is accepted only if it is consistent and agrees with the words of the Prophet (s), otherwise it is rejected."[1]

With regard to this matter Hafidh Wahba says, "The Wahhabis believe that the correct Islamic beliefs have to stay in the same manner that it is written and explained in the Qur'an and Hadiths and it is not permissible to give any allegorical explanation for them."

The books of Najd scholars are full of subjects related to rejecting the beliefs and words of people who resort to allegorical explanations and who compare religious beliefs with the thoughts and viewpoints of philosophers[2] (the *mutakalimin*). Before quoting Alusi's words we quoted the opposition of the Wahhabis with allegorical explanation of Hadiths and verses and the fact that they look at the literal meaning of Hadiths and verses and leave their true meanings to God. We also said when discussing the matter of vision (*being able to see God) that the Wahhabis believe that God can be seen due to the literal meaning of some of the verses and even believe that the literal meaning of some of the verses prove that God has bodily organs.

15- Ijtihad[3] and taqlid

Hafidh Wahba says the following while stating the matters that Ibn Taymiyyah has invited others to believe in: "According to Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion, both of the doors of *ijtihad* are open. In addition, Ibn Taymiyyah has announced war against bigoted

1. *Al-Fatawa Al-Kubra*, vol. 5, p. 17 –This .is about the allegorical explanation of some of the Qur'anic verses, and about the verses that are firm and similar in the eyes of Ibn Taymiyyah: refer to Ibn Taymiyyah's thesis, *Resalat Al-Aklil.*
2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 145.
3. Independent reasoning and judgement/to form an opinion on a point of religious law/ exegesis of divine law on matters of theology and law.

followers." Hafidh Wahba then says, "The basis of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs was this belief of Ibn Taymiyyah."[1]

What is evident and what we have quoted previously from Alusi is that the Wahhabis consider themselves to be the followers of the four legal schools on the subject of *usul al-din*, and the followers of the school of thought of Ahmad Hanbal on the subject of *furu' al-din*. They do not forbid following other Sunni sects and they themselves do not refuse to follow the other three Sunni legal schools (in addition to Hanbali school of thought, *which they follow) in some matters. Also, they believe in 'discrimination in *ijtihad*' which means that one can do *ijtihad* in some issues and do *taqlid* in other issues.[2]

Hafidh Wahba says, "The scholars of Najd rely on the writings of previous authors throughout their studies (this means they do not compare and bring about their own changes). This is why their literary works and theses, such as the book of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and his children, do not have a composed style of writing and do not use good personal initiative. Furthermore, the sources which they have referred to are very few. The Wahhabis do not claim absolute *ijtihad*, and do in fact follow Ahmad bin Hanbal and Ibn Taymiyyah and his students such as Ibn Qayyim."[3]

The Wahhabis do not believe it is permissible to perform *taqlid* when "Hadith or Qur'anic text" exists, whether it is doing *taqlid* from Ahmad Hanbal or Abu Hanifah or Malik or Shafi'i. However, on matters where a text does not exist they follow Ahmad bin Hanbal, which basically means that in their opinion the words and beliefs of Ahmad Hanbal are a fixed basis which they refer to when no reason exists. This basis is upon analogy to the Sunni sect and is the same as intellect to the Shi'ah. In this case, the Wahhabis are both *mujtahid* and followers at the same time.

King Abdul-Aziz said in a speech in 1355 A.H. in Maccah that "Our school of thought follows reasoning wherever reason is found, and if

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 231. –refer to Ibn Taymiyyah's book *Raf' Al-Malam* to find out about his views on *ijtihad* and *taqlid* (form p. 141 onwards).
2. Refer to *Tarikh Najd*, p. 48.
3. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 148.

reason is not found it is *ijtihad's* turn and in such a case we follow Ahmad Hanbal's *ijtihad*."[1]

16- Matters that didn't exist at the time of the Prophet (s) and his companions

Hafidh Wahba says, "The Wahhabi scholars severely abide by and are severely bound to what is left from the olden times. This attachment is more severe for matters that depend on and belong to religion. They believe that the correct Islamic beliefs have to be the same way they are in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet (s) and it is not permissible to make any changes in them or give any allegorical explanations."

The Wahhabis say that the same matters and issues that were enough for the people in the Prophet's (s) time, which is the best age, is enough for us also." It is noticeable that the books of the Wahhabi scholars contain the rejection of sects who resort to allegorical explanations or compare religious beliefs with the opinions of the philosophers and analyse them.

The Wahhabis believe pictures to be prohibited (it seems they generally mean drawing someone's or something's face or taking a picture of it with a camera), (Philippi says, "One of the distinguished *faqih* requested and insisted that the Egyptian government excuse him from affixing a picture to his passport when he wanted to go to Cairo."[2]). They also believe that learning philosophy and logic is not permissible and one can rarely find a scholar among the Najd scholars who is familiar with this science.

Even the number of people who have full knowledge of the secrets of the Arabic language and literature are very few, and the number of people who are familiar with the science of rhetorical expressions, etymology and the secrets of eloquence are even fewer. Their knowledge about historic information does not exceed the *sirah* of the

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1. *Hathihiyyah Al-Wahhabiyyah*, p. 103. –However, the opponents of the Wahhabis say that the Wahhabis claim absolute *ijtihad* and do not believe they need to follow the four legal schools and they believe referring to the Qur'an and Sunnah is enough for them. The opponents have given several reasons for what they say and have compiled independent books. We have pointed out several of these books in the text.
2. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 356.

Prophet (s) and the *sirah* of the rightly guided caliphs. Nothing is known of new inventions in the Arabian Peninsula. It is only the royal household and the princes who, because of their new mentality and a new morale, get ahold of modern books and study them and like to be informed of new books about history and law and the art of the Arabic language.[1]

In 1349 A.H., cries arose from the Najd scholars in Maccah. They gathered together and after consulting each other they issued a contract and agreement against the Ministry of Education in Maccah. The reason for the aforesaid measures was that the subject of art and the teaching of foreign language and geography, which spoke of the rotation of the earth and its sphericity, were included in the syllabus of the schools.[2]

When Sharif Ghalib surrendered to the Wahhabis in 1221 A.H., the Wahhabis gave a proviso, which stated that he had to stop carrying out issues that came into existence among Muslims after the third century. Some of these issues included:

- taking refuge in someone other than God whether they were of the living or of the dead to push away the hardships and the adversities of life,
- building domes over graves, drawing faces, plating thresholds (*of graves and mosques) with gold and kissing them,
- humility and humbleness before graves,
- crying out to and calling upon the dead in their graves,
- circling around graves,
- doing *nathr* and offering sacrifices for graves,
- having festivals and gatherings near graves,
- gathering of men and women of various classes.[3]

The Wahhabis accept the beliefs and matters that are in accordance with the Sunnah of the Prophet (s), and the *sirah* of the rightly guided

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 150 – This book was compiled around forty years ago and the state of the Sa'udi country and the Arabian Peninsula has changed very much since then, especially with regard to the penetration of an advanced stage of social development.
2. Ibid, p. 145.
3. *Al-Mokhtar min Tarikh Al-Jabarti*, p. 667. –We have given an explanation concerning every one of the mentioned matters in their place.

caliphs, companions, followers, and the *sirah* of leaders who have reached the status of giving *ijtihad* (till the end of the third century). They believe that whatever came into existence after the third century was an innovation and is prohibited and it is necessary to eliminate them. What one understands from Alusi's writings is that the Wahhabis or a group of them believed the books of other sects were null and void and they would get rid of them. He says regarding this matter that: "The Bedouins and ignorant Arabs got rid of books and they are now forbidden from doing so."[1]

The prohibition of using tobacco products

In the years before the Wahhabis occupied Hejaz, smoking tobacco in Maccah was customary. The writer of *Tarikh Maccah* says:

> "In 1112 A.H. tobacco (*the kind used in pipes) was imported from Egypt to Maccah and the smoking of tobacco began. Not long after that, smoking tobacco (*the kind used for hookah) was done openly in Maccah.
>
> In 1149 Sharif Mas'ud (Sharif Maccah) strongly opposed using tobacco products and ordered that no one should openly smoke in the bazaars and coffee shops. He ordered his governor in Maccah to punish the people who smoked openly and in public. The governor was careful no one smoked tobacco in the small streets, paths and bazaars. The people would gather in houses so that they could smoke tobacco secretly far from the eyes of the governor.
>
> There existed two beliefs as to why Sharif Mas'ud forbade using tobacco products. Some said he believed that smoking was prohibited. Some others explained that the reason it was forbidden was because smoking tobacco products in front of the scholars and elders was considered to be a type of disrespect.
>
> In any case, Sharif Ghalib, who was one of the noblemen of Maccah, also banned smoking in 1221."[2]

1. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 49.
2. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, pp. 52, 76, 135.

The ban that the noblemen of Maccah put on smoking most probably did not have a religious aspect. However, when the Wahhabis banned it after occupying Maccah it was because it was an unprecedented matter which did not exist in the first three centuries and therefore doing it was declared *haram* (*prohibited in Islam). Due to this the princes of Najd ordered smoking to be banned and stopped. For example on the fifth journey of Sa'ud Abdul-Aziz to Maccah for the performance of Hajj in 1222, using tobacco in the bazaars of Maccah was banned and it was on this journey that Sa'ud ordered someone to go around the bazaars of Maccah at prayer times and call out الصلوة الصلوة (*prayer, prayer).[1]

Turki bin Abdullah (one of the Sa'udi princes) wrote an advice-giving letter to the people of Najd and in it he forbids the people of Najd from keeping company with bad people and gathering together to smoke.[2]

Allamah Amin Amili says, "In Hejaz whoever smoked a hookah or cigarettes was treated with insolence and was hit and thrown in prison. At the same time the customs office set charges and taxes for tobacco."[3]

Amin al-Rihani, who travelled to Najd at the time of Abdul-Aziz bin Sa'ud, says, "Smoking in Najd and more precisely the whole of Ibn Sa'ud's realm is forbidden. No one, not in al-Ahsa nor in al-Aridh nor in al-Qasim, smokes openly and no one smokes in the bazaar. However, in al-Ahsa and in al-Qasim they smoke in their houses and the shayks take it easy and are careless with regard to this matter. I myself saw in Riyadh that someone smoked secretly in the presence of

1. *Ibn Bishr*, vol. 1, p. 143.
2. The text of the letter is in the book *Tarikh Najd*, p. 105.
3. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab* at the bottom of p. 66 – today smoking cigarettes and the hookah is widespread in Hejaz, and there is no ban on it and like everywhere cigarettes are sold in shops – what one should mention is that they believed smoking tobacco was prohibited because it did not exist in the Prophet's (s) time but they did not think drinking coffee was prohibited even though coffee did not exist in the Prophet's (s) time either. Refer to *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 146.

one of the closest people to the sultan. The reason for this is that they do not believe that smoking is forbidden like the bigoted scholars."[1]

With regard to smoking, Ibn Sa'ud would ignore and pretend he was ignorant of it happening, especially when foreigners did it.[2]

Henceforth, the Sa'udi country's publications gave reminders about the health problems related to smoking instead of talking about its prohibition, and they advised and recommended that the people should either not smoke at all or smoke less.[3]

Other matters which they believed were innovations

The grandson of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab says in the book Al-*Hadiyyat Al-Saniyyah*: "Whatever did not exist at the time of the Prophet (s) and came into existence after the first three Hijrah years is an innovation in religion and not admirable[4]. For example: building four altars in mosques for the four Imams of the four legal schools, remembering the dead on the minaret on the eves of Friday and Monday and on the day of Friday and asking for forgiveness for them, reading Qur'an and sending *salawah* for the Prophet (s) in places like the minaret which is specifically for the *adhan*[5], gathering to read about the *sirah* of the Prophet (s), reading the verses of the Qasidas with music, saying *salawah* for the Prophet (s) on his birthday, reading a *Surat al-Fatiha* for the dead after prayers and when carrying corpses, pouring water on graves, raising one's voice with the

1. *Muluk Al-'Arab*, vol. 2, p. 74 – Goldziher says, "Smoking and drinking coffee is counted as one of the great sins in the eyes of the Wahhabis", p. 267.
2. *Muluk Al-'Arab*, p. 75.
3. The *Qafilat Al-Zayt* magazine, edition number nine in 1954.
4. It seems this is because of the meaning of the following Hadith from Abu Hurairah by the Prophet (s):

"خير امتي القرن الذي بعثت فيهم ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم"

Musnad, Ahmad bin Hanbal, vol. 2, p. 228, translated: "The best of my people are the generation that were with me when I was appointed to Prophethood then (*in order of best status to lower status) the generation after them, and then the next generation". However, a better meaning is the following: The best of my people are my companions and then the followers (people who understood the companions of the Prophet -s- and they heard the Prophet's -s- words from the companions of the Prophet -s-), then the followers of the followers (people who heard the Prophet's (s) words from the followers)"
5. Call to prayer.

remembrance of God, hanging weapons and flags in dervish monasteries. The Wahhabis believe all these matters are *haram*."

It is written in the book *Fitnat Al-Wahhabiyyah* that the Wahhabis forbid saying a *salawah* for the Prophet (s) after the *adhan*. It is also written that a blind man said *salawah* for the Prophet (s) after this prohibition and ban was announced and so they took this man to Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahhab and he ordered for him to be killed.[1]

Other matters which the Wahhabis believe are *haram*, are matters such as letting your moustache grow long and wearing long clothes, which are longer than the usual length. In the past they would give a reminder to whoever had a long moustache or long clothes; then, as time passed, they started to cut off however much they thought was considered to be long from the people's moustaches or clothes with scissors.[2]

We will say later on when discussing the Ikhwan sect, that they believe putting an '*iqal* (Arab headband) on your head is not permissible and also that they forbade using new inventions such as telephones and telegraphs and such things.

The principle of prohibition and the principle of permissibility

One of the main differences that exist between the Wahhabis and all the other Islamic sects is that other sects act out the 'principle of

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1. *Fitnat Al-Wahhabiyyah* compiled by Sayyid Ahmad Zayni Dihlan along with the book *al-Sawa'iq* by Shaykh Sulayman, p. 77.

2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 315 - Jabarti says when talking about the events of the year 1222: "After finishing the acts of Hajj, the Wahhabis called out and said that from then on those who had shaved the hair on their chins must not come to the two holy places of Maccah and Medina, and the public crier also read this *ayah*:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ إِنَّمَا ٱلۡمُشۡرِكُونَ نَجَسٞ فَلَا يَقۡرَبُواْ ٱلۡمَسۡجِدَ ٱلۡحَرَامَ بَعۡدَ عَامِهِمۡ هَٰذَاۚ ﴾

"O you who believe! Truly the Pagans are unclean; so let them not, after this year of theirs, approach the Sacred Mosque." (Surah At-Tauba, verse 28). *Tarikh Jabarti*, vol. 3, p. 191. One notices that the word *mushrik* is applied to the people who shaved the hair on their chins and it seems that the Wahhabis believed that apart from the chin, shaving the rest of the face was no problem.

permissibility'. This means that anything that has no text from the Qur'an or Sunnah that exists to prove its prohibition then it is permissible and allowable. Therefore, drinking tea and coffee, eating tomatoes or potatoes and using new inventions and scientific discoveries and other such matters which did not exist at the time and place of the Prophet (s) and his companions or was not used is permissible because nothing has reached us to show its prohibition. However, the Wahhabis believe that the 'principle of prohibition' is valid. They believe that anything that does not have a text to prove its permissibility is *haram* and not permissible.

It is due to this principle that at the beginning they would rise in opposition against every new matter. They even tore out the telephone wires of the king's house and they stopped schools from teaching geography and other such matters.

However, according to the writings of Goldziher, the Wahhabis hold matters which the followers of the four legal schools believe to be allowable or recommended and admirable to be *haram* and have left the Sunni sector – their actions being similar to the actions of the Khawarij at the beginning of the Islamic centuries.

Goldziher who is from among the supporters of the Wahhabi ideology says after what he says above to prove the separation of the Wahhabis from the Sunnis because "from the twelfth century A.D. (sixth century A.H.) all of the Sunni people believed Ghazali to be the ultimate and decisive reason and proof in Sunni Islam and the ultimate place to refer to for the Islamic teachings. However, the Wahhabis deliberately fight and oppose the teachings of Ghazali when having disputes with regard to Islamic jurisprudence and theology with the Sunni followers of Maccah. This dispute is still (the time of Goldziher was the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century A.D.) an intense debate." [1]

1. *Al-'Qidah wa al-Shari'ah fi al-Islam*, p. 269 – it seems the opposition of Ibn Taymiyyah and the Wahhabis with Ghazali and similar people to him, was to oppose Sufism and Mystism, which these people are a manifestation of them.

A few observances

It is necessary to take notice of a few points here at the end of our discussion regarding the beliefs of the Wahhabi sect. These are summarised as follows:

Whatever did not exist at the time of the Prophet (s) and his companions and in general did not exist in the first century after Hijrah and came into existence in the centuries after is considered an innovation and is *haram*.

If such a belief were truly enforced, it would cause a standstill in religion which is not compatible with the true and pure soul of Islam and is not consistent with Islam being an eternal religion. How can a religion that is not in harmony with advancement in science and industry and not concordant with inventions and discoveries which give birth to mental and scientific progress of humans be universal and world-conquering?

The above matter is a subject which perhaps all who have researched about the Wahhabi school of thought have noticed and mentioned in their literary works. Even writers who are inclined to the Wahhabi way of thought have found fault on these grounds and other grounds and we shall mention several of these writers and what they have written as follows:

Alusi, who is one of the serious supporters of the Wahhabi school of thought, says while describing the emirate of Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz:

> "Even though Sa'ud managed to put the Arab leaders under his influence and made them obedient to him, he prohibited the people from performing pilgrimage to the House of God. He also stopped obeying Sultan 'Uthmani and exaggerated in calling other Islamic sects, other than the Wahhabis, *kafir*. He was harsh with regard to some laws, and in his time the Najd people looked at the apparent and literal meaning of most matters.
>
> If we want to be fair, we have to put aside the severe beliefs of the scholars and common Najd people, such as calling their plundering of Muslims holy war done in the way of God and forbidding Hajj. In addition, we have to put aside the

> carelessness of the people of Iraq and Syria who swear by anyone other than God and beautify graves of pious ones with gold and silver, and make *nathr* for them and do other matters which have been prohibited by the legislator of religious laws. We need to push these away from our minds and find the middle line.
>
> In conclusion going to extremes is not worthy of the Muslims, it is better for them to follow the pious ones who have passed away. Muslims calling each other *kafir* causes God to become angry."

Alusi says when giving an account of the life of Abdullah bin Sa'ud: "Even though Abdullah taught the Arab tribes the laws of religion like those in the past, and even though he persuaded them to pray in congregation at the time of the five daily prayers, and except from the mistake he made in the impudence and disrespect he showed to Sultan 'Uthmani, if he had been satisfied and content with Najd and its followers, he would have progressed better. He would have progressed better particularly if he taught the laws of religion to tribes who are like four-legged animals and even worse, and he would have obtained and received great reward."[1]

The American writer Lothrop Steward, who supported the Wahhabi ideology, spoke highly of it and praised it a lot, and also believed that the coming into existence of the Wahhabis was a cause of the awakening of Muslims, says the following: "Indeed, Wahhabi's ideology is a type of a pure amendatory ideology, by use of which he wanted to do away with superstitions, destroy doubts, eliminate the introduction of different matters which came about in the middle ages, and with which he wanted to suppress innovations and the worshipping of Awliyya' Allah. Briefly first he wanted to return to Islam and open up its truth and extract its essence; in other words, he wanted the pure and simple which was revealed to the Prophet (s). Secondly, he wanted to place the Qur'an which was sent down to the Prophet (s) as his leader and guide on the condition that it was naked of allegorical explanations and interpretations. Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab would say apart from this, whatever there is is null and

1. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 98-99.

void and is not related to Islam. He thought it worthy to uphold the pillars of religion and the obligations and rules like prayer and fasting and other things. They Wahhabis thought it was necessary that the conditions of their livelihood should be in utter simplicity. They believed silky clothes, amusement in food, drinking wine, drinking coffee (it does not seem that they believe drinking coffee is *haram*), smoking opium, smoking tobacco and whatever is a cause of waste or anything that was to the detriment of the intellect were *haram*."

Lothrop Steward then says: "What we have said is not all of the beliefs they have. The Wahhabis also believe that the decorated religious buildings are one of the prohibitions of Islam. It is for this reason they ruined the dome on the mausoleum of the Prophet (s) in Medinah and they ruined the tops of the minarets of mosques (this part is wrong: they did not ruin the dome over the holy mausoleum of the Prophet (s) and the minarets of the mosque. The reason they did not destroy the Prophet's (s) grave, will be explained later when discussing the history of the Wahhabis). Therefore, because of the severe religious prejudices and the attachment they have with respect to the rules and obligations of religion, they have taken their bigotry too far, and so they have grown into a group that makes petty or unnecessary objections. They have placed the Wahhabi way as reason, which causes the truth and nature of Islam to not be in harmony with daily circumstances, and to be inconsistent with the conditions of the progress and changes in society, and to be incompatible with the change in time."[1]

Sulayman Fa'iq Beik, who is one of the 'Uthmani writers of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century A.H., has said the following about the Wahhabis: "Even though the Wahhabi beliefs are not different from the beliefs of the people, who are inclined to observing precautions (*i.e. they are quite cautious in religious matters) and are from the Sunni sect and its congregation, and their beliefs are not different from the *sirah* of the devout ancestors, religious prejudice has deviated that sect from the right and steadfast path to the degree that they rule something as being *haram* or *halal* according to their liking. They even made it *haram* to visit the graves of pious people

1. *Hadhir Al-A'lim A-Islami*, vol. 1, p. 264. –A section of this book is translated to Persian in a book with the heading *Alam Now Muslimin*.

and to seek blessings from the spirituality and holiness of pious people. They gave a *fatwa* which stated that whoever smokes is an unbeliever. Their prejudice and deviation reached such a degree that they believed that apart from themselves all the Muslims were *kafir*, God forbid.

It seems suitable here to quote the following from Ahmad Amin the famous Arab writer: "Now tens of years has passed from the time of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and tens of brave fighting men have fought and put effort in the way of his teachings, but what is the result? All the Muslims from all the Islamic regions are the same as before the Wahhabi ideology with respect to doing *tawassul* to graves and burial chambers for the granting of their needs. In addition, like those times they celebrate and have a party on the birthday of the Prophet (s) and other birthdays and other such occasions (although the splendour of these parties has decreased). This aforesaid ideology has only affected a select few. Furthermore, a group of educated and learned young ones do not seek refuge in the graves and sepulchres of great ones like their fathers. However, I also fear that they will not take refuge in God as their fathers did."[1]

* * *

Regarding this discussion, it is necessary to give attention to the 'principle of permissibility' and *ijtihad*. This is so those who read the writings of the aforesaid American writer and writers like him do not consider the religion of Islam to be a rigid religion far from daily circumstances (*i.e. not in harmony with progression in daily occurrences/out of date) or believe Islam to be incompatible with scientific discoveries, inventions and intellectual progress of human beings.

For example, in the Shi'ah school of thought the principle and basis of everything is permissibility, which means that if a text does not exist to prove the prohibition of any matter, then that matter is allowable and performing it has no prohibition according to law. Apparently, other Islamic sects apart from the Wahhabi sect also accept the principle of permissibility.

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1. *Zu'ama Al-Islah fi al-'Asr al-Hadith*, p. 25.

Furthermore, according to the Shi'ah school of thought, a *mujtahid* can deduce the ruling of anything new which requires a ruling. This ruling must be based on four sources of proof which are: the Qur'an, Hadiths, consensus of opinions and the intellect. Therefore the religion of Islam which is a religion of knowledge, intellect and thought has the utmost compatibility with any time and place. No matter can be found and no matter will be found which a *mujtahid* cannot deduce a ruling for.

The beliefs of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab

From the time that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab first expressed his beliefs and invited the people to accept them, many great scholars rose in opposition to his ideas. The first person who opposed him severely was his father Abd Al-Wahhab and then his brother Shaykh Sulayman bin Abd Al-Wahhab. Both of them were Hanbali scholars. Shaykh Sulayman wrote a book titled *Al-Sawa'iq al-Ilahiyyah fi al-Radd Ala Al-Wahhabiyyah,* and in this book he rejects his brother's beliefs.

Zayni Dahlan says, "Shaykh Muhammad's father was a scholar and a pious man and his brother was counted as a scholar too. In the beginning, at the time that Shaykh Muhammad was occupied with studying, when Shaykh Abd Al-Wahhab and Shaykh Sulayman understood from his (*Shaykh Muhammad's) words and actions that he had such a purpose and such a motive, they reprimanded him and warned the people about him.[1]

Shaykh Muhammad's greatest opponent was his brother Shaykh Sulayman. Shaykh Sulayman says in his book *Al-Sawa'iq al-Ilahiyyah fi al-Radd Ala Al-Wahhabiyyah* where he rejects his brother's beliefs severely: "These issues (issues which the Wahhabis believe are a cause of *shirk* and blasphemy) came into existence before Ahmad bin Hanbal and before the Imams of Islam. Some of them the issues were renounced but it has not been heard from or narrated by any of the Islamic Imams that they believed the committers of these acts were *kafir* or apostates, and that they ordered holy war against them, or that the Muslim countries, as you call them, were polytheist countries or

1. *Al-Futuhat Al-Islamiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 257.

were called lands of unbelief. Furthermore, in these eight hundred years that have passed since the time of the Imams,[1] it has not been narrated by any learned Islamic scholar that they believed these matters to be blasphemy.[2] I swear to God that it is integral to your belief that all of the Prophet's (s) people after the time of Ahmad Hanbal whether scholars or princes or common people are blasphemers and apostates, انا لله و انا اليه راجعون (*verily we belong to God and verily we will return to him)." Shaykh Sulayman says the following here out of sadness and grief: "واغوثاه" (O God, help us) according to what you say, before you no one knew the religion of Islam."[3]

Apart from the book *Al-Sawa'iq*, other books have been compiled in rejection to Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs. These books have stated his beliefs one by one and have rejected them with reason. One example is the book *Kashf al-Irtiyyab fi Atba' Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab* by Allamah Hajj Sayyid Muhsin al-Husayni 'Amili. This writer is also the writer of the substantial book *A'yan al-Shi'ah*. The book *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab* is one of the best books that exist in its category and field of discussion.

One of the supporters of the Wahhabis in Egypt is called Abdullah al-Qasimi and has compiled a book called *Al-Sira Bayn al-Islam wa al-Wathaniyya* in rejection to the book *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*. Shaykh Muhammad Khunaizi Najafi has compiled a book in rejection to *Al-Sira* called *Al-Da'wa Al-Islamiyya* and several of the volumes of this book have been published.

Another book which has been written in rejection to the Wahhabi beliefs is the book *Minhaj Al-Rashad* by the late Allamah Shaykh Kashif Al-Ghita'. In addition the book *Shawahid al-Haq fi al-Istighatha bi Sayyid al-Khalq* by Shaykh Yusuf Nabhani has been in written in rejection to the beliefs of both Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab.

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1. What is meant by the Imams are the four Imams of the Sunni sect and other people whose words are believed to be reason and proof by the Sunnis. What is meant by eight hundred years is the space between the end of the third century till the time of Shaykh Sulayman, which was the twelfth century.
2. *Al-Sawa'iq Al-Ilahiyyah*, p. 38.
3. Ibid.

The following books have been written in rejection to the Wahhabi beliefs:

The book *Misbah Al-An'am wa Jalae Al-Dhulam* by Sayyid Alawi bin Ahmad, which has been quoted by Abi Hamid bin Marzouq, in his book *Al-Tawassal bil Nabi wa Jahalat al-Wahhabiyyin.*

In addition, the book *Tathir Al-Fu'ad min Danas Al-'Itiqad* by Shaykh Muhammad Nadzib al Mati'i al-Hanafi who is one of the nobles of the Azhar scholars.

The book *Al-Fajr Al-Sadiq fi Radd Ala Munkiri al-Tawassul wa al-Karamaat wa al-Khawariq* which is compiled by the Iraqi Allamah called Jamil Afandi Sidqi Zahawi.

The book *Dhiyyah Al-Sudur Limunkari Al-Tawassul Bi Ahl Al-Qubur* written by Dhahir Shah Miyyan bin Abd Al-Adhim.

The book *Al-Minhat Al-Wahbiyyah fi al-Radd Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Dawud bin Sulayman Naqshbandi Baghdadi.

The book *Ashad Al-Jihad fi Abdaal ideology Al-Ijtihad* by Shaykh Dawud Musawi Baghdadi, which was published along with the aforementioned book *Al-Minhat Al-Wahhabiyyah.*

The thesis *Kashf Al-Noor An Ashab Al-Qubur* compiled by Abd Al-Ghani Afandi Nabulsi.

The book *Al-Usul Al-Arba'ah fi Tardid Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Khowja Muhammad Hasan Jaan Sahib Sarhindi (in Persian).

The book *Saif Al-Abrar Ala Al-Fujjar* compiled (in rejection to the *fatwas* of Nadhir Husayn , who is one of the supporters of Wahhabism) by Muhammad Abd Al-Rahman Hanafi (in Persian)..

Shah Fadhl Rasul Qadiri's thesis called *Saif al-Ijbaar al-Maslul ala al-A'Dae al-Abrar* (in Arabic and Persian).

The book *Madarij al-Saniyya fi Radin ala Al-Wahhabiyyah* which is compiled by a teacher of the University of Karachi (in Arabic with Urdu Translation).

The book *Tahakkum al-Muqallidin Biman Idda'a Tajdid al-Din* by Abd Al-Rahman bin Afalaq. In this book the writer refutes all of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs and asks questions

concerning religious sciences and literature (Quoted by Zayni Dahlan).

The book *Al-Barahin Al-Jaliyya* by Mr Sayyid Muhammad Hasan Qazwini.

The book *Kashf Al-Niqab An 'Aqa'id Ibn Abd al-Wahhab* by Sayyid Alinaqi Hindi.

The book *Izhaq al-Badil fi Radd al-Firqa Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Imam Al-Haramain Muhammad bin Dawud Hamadani, who is a scholar of the thirteenth century.[1]

The book *Al-Lama'at Al-Farida fi al-Masail al-Mufida* by Sayyid Ibrahim Rifa'i.

Shaykh Jawad Mughniyyah's book called *Hathihiyyah Al-Wahhabiyyah*.

The book *Al-Dawla al-Macciyya bil Madat al-Ghaybiyya* by Ahmad Ridha Khansahib Qadiri.

The thesis *Al-Awraaq al-Baghdadiyya fi al-Hawadith al-Najdiyya* by Sayyid Ibrahim Rawi Rifa'i.

Other books of the same type as those mentioned above also exist. A section of the famous book *Al-Ghadir* by the late Allamah Amini has also been written in rejection to the Wahhabi beliefs.

Another person who rejected Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs is Sayyid Ahmad Zayni Dahlan the Mufti of Maccah, who has severely attacked Shaykh Muhammad and his beliefs in his famous book *Al-Futuhat al-Islamiyya*.

Zayni Dahlan has also mentioned a part of Muhammad bin Sulayman Kurdi's sayings, which address Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and renounce his beliefs.[2]

Zayni Dahlan has also left behind several independent theses that have been written in rejection to the Wahhabi beliefs, such as *Fitnat Al-*

1. A copy if it, which is written by hand by the author himself, is available in Mr Sayyid Mahdi Lajvardi's library in Qum.
2. *Al-Futuhat al-Islamiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 260.

Wahhabiyyah and *Al-Durar al-Saniyyah fi al-Radd ala Al-Wahhabiyyah*.

One thing that is notable is that most of the authors of the recent books, which have been written in rejection to the Wahhabis, used to be and are by the Hanafi scholars and by the people of Turkey or India and Pakistan. Recently, in Istanbul many books and theses have been published concerning this topic. This is probably because in the Wahhabi books the most severe attacks have been made to Abu Hanifah and his beliefs and views.

Reminder

The books and theses, which have been written by the contemporaries of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and recent scholars to reject the beliefs of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab or for the purpose of advising him are many more than those mentioned because mentioning all of them would be difficult and time consuming. The names of some of these books have been cited in other books that have been compiled in rejection of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs such as the book *Al-Tawassul bil Nabi* by Abi Hamid bin Marzouq. The names of forty two books concerning the rejection of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs are mentioned in this book although we will mention only some of them here:

1- The article of Shaykh Muhammad bin Sulayman Kurdi, which commends Sulayman bin Abd Al-Wahhab's thesis. Shaykh Muhammad bin Sulayman Kurdi was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's teacher, and Sulayman bin Abd Al-Wahhab was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's brother (it seems the thesis that is talked about here is *Al-Sawa'iq Al-Ilahiyyah*).

2- The book *Tajrid Seif al-Jihad Limodda'ei al-Ijtihad* by Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's teacher, Abdullah ibn Abd Al-Latif Shafi'i.

3- *Al-Sawa'iq wa al-Ru'ud* by Afif al-Din Abdullah bin Dawud Hanbali. Many of the scholars of Basrah, Baghdad, Alleppo, Ahsa and other cities have commended this book and approved it.

4- The thesis of Ahmad bin Ali Basri Shafi'i.

5- Abd Al-Wahhab bin Ahmad Barakaat Shafi'i Makki's thesis.

6- The thesis *Al-Sarim al-Hindi fil Unuq al-Najdi* by Shaykh Adaay Makki.

7- The thesis *Al-Suyuf Al-Siqal fi Anaq man Ankara ala Al-Awliyyah Ba'ad al-Intiqal*, written by a scholar of Jerusalem.

8-*Tahridh al-Aghiniyya ala al-Istighatha bil Anbiyya wa Al-Awliyyah* by Abdullah bin Ibrahim, who is residing in Ta'if (*the old name for Maccah).

9- Sayyid Alawi bin Haddad has said, "I saw Tahir Hanafi in Ta'if and he had written a book called *Al-Intisar lil Awliyyah al-Abrar*" (which was written with regard to the same matter).

10- The same Sayyid has also said: "The answers (*i.e. rejection of Wahhabi beliefs) of the great scholars of the four schools of thought from Haramain Al-Sharifain[1], Ahsa, Basrah, Baghdad, Halab, Yemen and other Muslim cities, whether written in prose or in poetry, are uncountable. A man from the household of Abd Al-Razzaq, who is one of the Hanbalis of Bahrain, brought them all to me I studied all of them but because I was travelling it was not possible for me to copy them down."

11- The book *Sa'adat al-Darayn* by Shaykh Ibrahim Samannudi.

12- *Ghawth al-'Ibaad bi Bayaan al-Rashad* by Shaykh Mustafa Hamami Misri.

13- *Al-Nuqul al-Shari'yya fi al-Radd ala Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Shaykh Hasan Shaddi Hanbali Demishqi.

14- Shaykh Muhammad Hasanain Makhluq's thesis about *tawassul* to Prophets and Awliyya' Allah.

15- *Al-Maqalaat al-Wafiyyah fi al-Radd ala Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Hasan Khazbak.

16- *Al-Aqwal al-Mardhiyya fi al-Radd ala Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Shaykh Atha Al-Kasam Dimishqi.[2]

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1. The two holy sanctuaries at Maccah and Medina.
2. *Al-Tawasol bil Nabi,* p. 249 to p. 253.

Extracts of the contents of some of the mentioned books

Some sections of the books which have been written in order to reject the Wahhabi beliefs have been mentioned before and now we will quote parts of other books:

Amir Qadiri who is a teacher at the University of Karachi says:

> "We have heard from the Wahhabis that calling on anyone other than God is *shirk*. We say that it is permissible to call upon the Prophet (s) and Awliyya' Allah. Calling the holy Prophet (s) is permissible because of the Hadith of Abd Al-Rahman bin Sa'ad, which says that the leg of Ibn Umar became weak and numb and a man said to him: "Who is your most loved person?" He answered: "Oh Muhammad." According to another narration Ibn Abbas's leg became weak and numb and he said: "Oh Muhammad." Calling a *Wali* of God is also permissible because a *Wali* of God is a follower of the holy Prophet (s)."[1]
>
> Doing *tawassul* to the Prophet (s) and Awliyya' Allah is proven by a definitive text. God has said:
>
> ﴿ وَٱبۡتَغُوٓاْ إِلَيۡهِ ٱلۡوَسِيلَةَ ﴾
>
> ***"and seek means of getting near Him"***.[2]. The Wahhabis say that no one whether it is the Prophet (s) or a Wali of God can intercede for anyone, and that whoever believes in their intercession is a *mushrik* like Abu Jahl.
>
> We say the proof that intercession exists is in the blessed verse of the Qur'an:
>
> ﴿وَلَا تَنفَعُ ٱلشَّفَٰعَةُ عِندَهُۥٓ إِلَّا لِمَنۡ أَذِنَ لَهُۥ ﴾
>
> ***"No intercession is accepted in the Presence of Allah save by those who are permitted to intercede."***[3] and in the verse:

1. *Madariy al-Saniyyah,* p. 15.
2. A section of the Surah Ma'idah, verse 35.
3. Surah Saba', verse 23.

﴿مَا مِن شَفِيعٍ إِلَّا مِنۢ بَعۡدِ إِذۡنِهِۦ﴾

"There is no intercessor save after Allah's permission."[1] and in the Sunnah. It is also proven by Affan's narration, which states, "On the Day of Judgement three groups can intercede for others: first the Prophets, then the scholars, then the martyrs[2]. In addition, the following Hadith also proves intercession:

"شفاعتي لاهل الكبائر من امتي"[3]

"My intercession is for those of my nation who commit major sins."

and so does this Hadith:

"وشفاعتي لاهل الذنوب من امتي"[4]

"…and my intercession is for those of my nation who commit sins."

Therefore, it has been proved that the Prophets and the Awliyya' Allah will intercede for the sinners on the Day of Resurrection, and people who deny that this is so, like the Wahhabis, will not have a share in the Prophet's (s) intercession because it is written in *Fath Al-Bari* that:

"من كذب بالشفاعة فلا نصيب له فيها"

"Whoever thinks that intercession is a lie, he will have no portion of it."[5]

Khaja Muhammad Hasan Khan Sahib Hindi Hanafi quotes from the books and theses of the supporters of Wahhabism in India and quotes from some other theses in his own thesis called *Al-Usul al-Araba'a fi Tardid al-Wahhabiyyah,* which is written in Persian, and says: "The beliefs of the Wahhabis exceeds two hundred and fifty issues" and he has mentioned some of them. For example, he has said, "This tribe believe that *tawhid* is only exclusive to them and their congregation

1. Surah Yunis, verse 3.
2. *Jami' al-Saghir*, vol. 2, p. 207.
3. *Mishkaat*, p. 494.
4. *Jami' al-Saghir*, vol. 2, p. 33.
5. *Madarij al-Saniyyah*, p. 63.

and they think others are *mushriks*. They claim that believing God has no place is an innovation in religion and is misleading; all Prophets are not infallible when promoting the laws (*of religion); one must honour the Prophet (s) as much as he honours his older brother; the Prophet (s) has no life in his grave; Prophets and Awliyya' Allah have no power and cannot hear (*because they are dead); one becomes an unbeliever if one reads the common *fiqh* books and these books must be burnt; and to call upon the Prophets, martyrs and angels at times of need are all *shirk*. These days all people are *kafir*. Standing near the *rawdhah* of the Prophet (s) in a bowing down sort of fashion is *shirk* etc..."[1]

Khaja Muhammad Hasan Khan Sahib Hindi Hanafi then rejects Wahhabis' beliefs. For example, with regard to the *ziyarah* of graves he quotes from Muhammad bin Idris Shafi'i that: "The grave of Musa bin Ja'far ('a) is like a tested antidote for the granting of needs." He also quotes from Dhahabi's *Tadhkirat Al-Huffaz* that: "Whenever the scholars of the Sunni people go to do the *ziyarah* of the Imam of Khorasan, Iran, our leader Imam Ali bin Musa al-Rida ('a), they show a great amount of humility and humbleness and do a lot of supplication."

In addition, Hafidh Ibn Hajar Asqalani writes the following in *Tahdhib Al-Tahdhib*:

"قال (أي الحاكم) وسمعت ابابكر محمد بن المؤمل يقول خرجنا مع امام الحديث أبي بكر بن خزيمة وعديلة أبي علي الثقفي مع جماعة من مشايخنا وهم إذ ذاك متوافرون إلى زيارة قبر علي بن موسى الرضا(ع) بطوس قال فرأيت من تعظيمه يعني ابن خزيمة لتلك بقعة و تواضعه لها وتضرعه عندها ما تحيرنا"

"The governor of Neyshabur (town to the west of Mashhad) said: "I heard from Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Mu'ammal that they went out to visit the grave of Ali bin Musa al-Rida ('a) with Abu Bakr Khuzayma, who is a leader of narrating Hadiths, along with his equal in knowledge Abu Ali Thaqafi and a group of shaykhs and my teachers, who at that time were many. We saw Ibn Khuzayma honour

1. *Al-Usul al-Arba'ah*, p. 2 to 5.

and show humility and humbleness to the *buq'a*[1] in such a way that it surprised us."

The famous narrator of Hadiths Abu Hatam bin Haban writes in the translation of the book called Imam Ali bin Musa al-Rida ('a) that:

"ما حلّت بي شدة في وقت مقامي بطوس و زرت قبر علي بن موسِى الرضا(ع) صلوات الله على جده وعليه و دعوت الله تعالى ازالتها عني الا استجيب لي وزالت عني تلك الشدة وهذا شيء جربته مرارا"

"When I was residing in Tus, whenever I was suffering from something and I visited the grave of Ali bin Musa al-Rida ('a) and wanted God to take away this suffering from me, my prayers never remained unanswered and it was never the case that hardship did not go away. This is something I have experienced many times."

The writer of the aforementioned book, which is called *Imam Ali Bin Musa al-Rida ('a),* also writes the same about other graves; for example, he writes something similar to what is mentioned above regarding the graves of Abu Hanifah and Ma'ruf Karkhi.[2]

The great Iraqi poet Jamil Sidqi Zahawi says in his book *Al-Fajr al-Sadiq* that:

> "As some great writers have written, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab had great avidity in studying the news about the claimants of Prophethood like Musaylama, Sajah, Aswad Anasi, Tulaiha Asadi and other people like them. He intended to call people to accept his Prophethood but he did not find the strength to express Prophethood. His companions, who came from the same city as him, were called Ansar and those who came from outside his city were called Muhajirin. If they had already performed Hajjatul Islam[3] he would tell them to repeat it because their first pilgrimage was performed when they were still *mushriks*. Whoever wanted to enter into his religion and accept it had to declare that he used to be *kafir*, his mother and

1. A building which houses a grave.
2. *Al-Usul al-Arba'ah*, p. 35-36.
3. The greater pilgrimage to Maccah.

father died as *kafirs* and that a group of past scholars were also *kafir* and if he did not declare these things he was killed.

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab believed all the Prophet's (s) people from 600 years before were *kafir*. If the most pious, virtuous and God fearing people did not follow him they were counted as *kafirs* and *mushriks* and it was permissible to shed their blood and plunder their property. However, if the most sinful people followed him they were counted as believers.

He tried to bring down the Prophet's (s) status. Some of his followers would say my walking stick is better than the Prophet (s), because I benefit from it and Muhammad (s) left this world and so he does not benefit anyone anymore we seek refuge in Allah (from uttering such). Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab accepted this saying given that this is considered to be blasphemy by the four schools of thought.

He has prohibited saying *salawah*[1] for the Prophet (s) on Thursday nights and in the minarets. Whoever sent a *salawah* for the Prophet got a harsh penalty to pay and he would say these are to protect us.

He burnt many books related to sending *salawah* for the Prophet (s) such as the book *Dalaa'il al-Khairaat* by Muhammad bin Sulayman Jazuli.

He also burnt many *fiqh*, interpretation and Hadith books that opposed his beliefs and he allowed all his followers to interpret the Qur'an according to their understanding…"[2]

Zahawi then rejects the Wahhabi beliefs regarding the abjuration of resorting to intellect, comparisons and the consensus of opinions (as Abu Hanifah and others have said). He also rejects calling someone who follows a *mujtahid kafir* (*unbeliever), calling Muslims in general *kafirs*, denying *tawassul* and other beliefs, and he has given solid convincing answers, which are proven by reasoning.

1. Reciting 'Allahhomma salli ala Muhammad wa ali Muhammad' = Oh God send your blessings and greetings to Muhammad and his descendants.
2. *Al-Fajr al-Sadiq*, p. 17-18.

Sayyid Ahmad Zayni Dahlan the chief Mufti of Maccah rejects Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs in his book *Durar Al-Saniyyah* and quotes a section of some discussions which took place with Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab. For example, he quotes that Shaykh Muhammad would give speeches in the mosque of Dir'iyyah and in every speech he would say *tawassul* to the Prophet (s) is blasphemy.

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's brother, Shaykh Sulayman, strongly renounced Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs. One day Shaykh Sulayman asked Shaykh Muhammad: "How many are the pillars of Islam?" He answered: "They are five." Sulayman said: "But you have made it six pillars, the sixth is that whoever does not follow you is a blasphemer."[1]

Another man said to him one day: "How many people are freed from hellfire on every night of the month of Ramadhan?" He said: "One hundred thousand people and on the last night the amount of people that were freed the whole month are freed." The man said: "The number of your followers do not add up to a tenth of this number. Where are these Muslims who are freed from the fire? You have restricted Muslims to yourself and your followers only.

On another occasion a man who was the head of a tribe –and therefore Shaykh Muhammad did not have the power to harm him– asked Shaykh Muhammad: "If a man who is truthful, religious and trustworthy – and you also admit and confess that he is truthful– tells you that behind such a mountain a large group have gathered together and intend to kill you, and so you send one thousand horsemen to fight them off and the horsemen go and find no trace of that group, will you think the one thousand horsemen are telling the truth or the one truth teller? He answered, "The one thousand horsemen." The man said,

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1. Because the dispute between Shaykh Sulayman and Shaykh Muhammad became lengthy, Shaykh Sulayman migrated to Medina because he was afraid his brother would order for him to be killed. In Medina, he wrote a thesis in rejection of his brother's beliefs and sent it to him (it seems the *Al-Sawa'iq* thesis is the thesis that is intended here). Many Hanbali scholars also wrote theses rejecting Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs and sent them to him but none of them were of any use (in making Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab change his beliefs). *Al-Durar al-Saniyyah,* p. 40.

"All the living and dead Muslim scholars deny and reject your beliefs in their books so you must attest that what they say is correct." He had no answer to give for such reasoning.

Another man also asked Shaykh Muhammad: "Is this religion that you have brought attached or detached?" He said: "From six hundred years ago until now my Shaykhs and the Shaykhs of others were all *mushrik*." The man then said: "In that case your religion is detached not attached so who did you get it from?...." [1]

Zayni Dahlan talks about Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and says the following in his book: "One of his ugly actions was that when he forbade the people from visiting the Prophet's (s) grave, a group of the people of Ahsa went to visit the Prophet's (s) grave and Shaykh Muhammad found out. These people had to pass Dir'iyyah. In Dir'iyyah he ordered for the beards of the visitors of Ahsa to be shaved off, and for them to be placed upside down on the animals they rode on, and he made them ride their animals while they were upside down from Dir'iyyah to Ahsa."

Another time he heard that a group of people, who did not follow him, would go to do *ziyarah* and perform Hajj from faraway places and they passed Dir'iyyah on their way. When this group were passing Dir'iyyah, it was heard that Shaykh Muhammad told one of his followers: "Let the *mushriks* (meaning the visitors of the Prophet's (s) grave) pass and let the Muslims (meaning the Wahhabis) stay with us."

He prohibited saying *salawah* for the Prophet (s) and he would get upset when he heard a *salawah*. Whoever would send greetings to the Prophet (s) he would harm and injure them and would punish them in the harshest way possible. He even ordered a blind religious man, who was a *mu'aththin* with a nice voice, to be killed because that blind man did not listen to him and sent a *salawah* for the Prophet (s).[2]

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1. *Al-Durar Al-Saniyyah*, p. 39-40.

2. *Al-Durar Al-Saniyyah,* p. 41 - Abu Hamid bin Marzuq says, " When the Sa'udis entered Maccah in 1343, in the morning, I went to the Mu'alla cemetery and I saw someone, who was from the people of Maccah and who was going towards Mas'a, and he said: "اللهم صل و سلم على سيدنا محمد" "May Allah's blessings be upon our master Muhammad". At that moment a group of the Ghadghads (Wahhabis) came to the

A few words from Sheik Sulayman, who was Shaykh Muhammad's brother

It was previously mentioned that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's brother and father opposed and fought against his opinions severely and that his brother, Shaykh Sulayman, went from Dir'iyyah to Medinah because he was afraid of being killed. There he wrote a thesis, which appears to be the book *Al-Sawa'iq Al-Ilahiyyah*, and sent it to Shaykh Muhammad. Some of Shaykh Muhammad's sayings that were required in other sections of this book have been mentioned before so we will avoid repetition, but here we will mention some of his other sayings:

1- "Scholars of every sect have stated the beliefs and actions which bring the accusation of apostasy upon a Muslim. None of them have said that one who does a *nathr* for someone other than God or asks for his needs to be granted through someone other than God is an apostate. Furthermore, none have given the verdict of being an apostate to a person who offers a sacrifice for someone other than God, touches a grave or picks up some soil from the grave. Like whatever you believe (*here he is addressing the Wahhabis). If you have something to say with regard to this matter, then say it, because concealing knowledge is not permissible. However, you have acted according to what you suppose and have separated yourselves from the union of Muslims. With the belief you have, which is that whoever does these acts (*nathr* , offering a sacrifice, touching graves, etc.) is a *kafir* and whoever doesn't believe the committers of these acts to be *kafir* is a *kafir* himself, you have named all the people (*i.e. the nation) of Muhammad (s) *kafir*. Even though all the people, whether they are common or noble, know that it is more than seven hundred years that these acts (*nathr*, offering a sacrifice, *ziyarah*, etc.) are performed widely in all the Islamic countries. Even if scholars do not do these acts themselves, they do not call the doers of these acts *kafir* and they do not carry out the laws of an apostate with regard to them but rather they carry out the laws pertaining to Muslims. This is

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Haram (*an area around the grave where people pray and read *dua'*). Their leader heard what the man said and out of anger and spite he pointed to the man with his walking stick and said: "اذكرون و لا تعبدون" "Remember me, but do not worship me." *Al-Tawasol Bil Nabi*, p. 106.

contrary to your saying that calls all the Islamic countries lands of unbelief and lands of apostates. You even believe that Haramain Al-Sharifain are territories of unbelief, even though, according to correct and sound Hadiths from the Prophet (s), the Prophet (s) has made it clear that these two cities are always two Islamic cities, and no idols will be worshipped in them, and Dajjal who will go to all the cities at the end of time will not enter Maccah and Medinah. In your opinion all these cities are lands of warfare and its people are *kafirs*. This is because you believe everyone is an idol worshipper and in your opinion everyone is a *mushrik* and has departed the nation of Islam.

﴿إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّآ إِلَيۡهِ رَٰجِعُونَ﴾

"Surely we are Allah's and to Him we shall surely return."[1-2]

2- "It is obvious and clear for nobles, common people and whoever is familiar with Hadiths, that there are matters that as a result of performing them you think the people of Islamic countries from more than seven hundred years ago till today (today being the time when the book *Al-Sawa'iq* was written, which is about eight years after the Wahhabi ideology) are *kafir* and who you believe are worshipping idols, and the people of those cities are also *kafir*. Additionally, according to what you say, whoever doesn't believe them to be *kafir* then he himself is *kafir*, even though it is clear that the princes and scholars do not believe they are *kafir* and have not executed the rulings of apostates upon them.

Given that the aforementioned matters take place openly in most Islamic countries and a large number of people make money out of these matters and people travel to these holy and blessed places from all the cities, tell us do you know of just one person who is a scholar or a swordsman who has given the same opinions that you have? All the scholars have executed the rulings of Muslims upon them. Therefore, if the committers of these acts are *kafir* and idol worshippers in your opinion and the scholars and princes have ruled that they are Muslims, then what is integral to your opinion is for the scholars and princes to be *kafir* because whoever does not believe polytheists are *kafir* then he himself is a *kafir*. In this case they

1. Surah Baqara, verse 256.
2. *Al-Sawa'iq al-Ilahiyya*.

(*princes and scholars) are not counted as the people and nation of Muhammad and this is inconsistent with Prophetic (s) Hadith." [1]

3- "The basis of Shaykh Sulayman's book is on his brother's belief that all Muslims (apart from his own followers) are *kafir*. He has quoted fifty two Hadiths from Sihah Sitta and other famous Hadith books about the fact that the criterion for being a Muslim is saying the Shahadatayn and doing the requirements of religion, and some of these Hadiths are also about being cautious in calling Muslims *kafir*."[2]

The Wahhabi and Hanbali sects

There should be no doubt that the Wahhabi sect arose from the Hanbali sect. All the Wahhabi leaders and in general most of the people who forbade the *ziyarah* of graves, *tawassul* and *estighathah* to the Prophet (s) and other great leaders of sect, were from the Hanbali scholars. Abu Muhammad Barbahari, Ibn Battuta, Ibn Taymiyyah and his famous student Ibn Qayyim and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab[3] are all counted as Hanbali scholars, and so it is for this reason that the Wahhabis believe they are from the Sunni sect and its congregation and that they belong to the Hanbali faith. However, according to the writings of Doctor Abd Al-Rahman Zaki, the Wahhabis are different from the Hanbalis in two ways. One is that following someone other than the four leaders of the Sunni sect like Malik, Abu Hanifah, Shafi'i and Ibn Hanbal is forbidden for them. The second is that they do not accept and acknowledge other sects such as the Shi'ah sect.

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1. *Al-Sawa'iq*, p. 39, it seems what he means by the Prophetic Hadith (s) is a Hadith which is narrated in *Sahih Muslim* which is that the Prophet (s) said:

"ان الله زوى لي الارض فرايت مشارقها و مغاربها وان امتي ليبلغ ملكها ما زوى لي منها."

2. *Al-Sawa'iq*, p. 55 to 63.

3. What is noteceable is that Muhammad bin Wahhab's contemporary Iranian writers (some of their writings will be mentioned in section five) have said that he was a Hanafi. The Ottoman writers such as 'Uthman Fa'iq Bik (in *Tarikh Baghdad*, p. 152) has said, "In the beginning Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab would teach the teachings of the Hanbali sect to the people. With the similarities that exist (between his teachings and the Hanbali teachings), the way he taught being the same as the Hanbali religion, the fact that his father was one of the Hanbali scholars, and because he and his followers always considered themselves to be Hanbali, almost no doubt remains that at the beginning he followed the Hanabli faith.

Furthermore, in some matters that are of secondary importance, whenever the Wahhabis (as we said before) find an opinion based on a clear text from the Qur'an and on a Sunnah that has not been repealed, one which does not have a stronger determining principle and opponent against it, and if the opinion is issued from one of the three leaders (apart from Ahmad Hanbal) and the Wahhabis are certain it has been issued by one of the three leaders, they act upon that opinion and in that matter abandon Ahmad Hanbal's doctrine.

Doctor Abd Al-Rahman Abd Al-Zaki says the following regarding the aforesaid matter:

> "The Wahhabi sect has been subjected to changes in the same manner that religion, politics and society has. What is meant by changes in a sect is the difference in taste in understanding its teachings and the manner in which the teachings are acted and carried out.
>
> For example, we see that King Abdul-Aziz Al Sa'ud, who was the Imam and leader of the Wahhabis, makes a treaty of friendship based on Islamic brotherhood in 1934 after the war that arose between him and Imam Yahya who was a Shi'ah king (Zaydi) from Yemen. In that treaty King Abdul-Aziz acknowledges that King Yahya is Yemen's religious leader and this was an implicit confession, which acknowledged the Zaydi sect.
>
> Notice that the acknowledgement above is inconsistent with what was said before, which was that the Wahhabis do not acknowledge and accept any sect apart from the Mathahib Al-Arba'ah."[1]

Apart from the two differences mentioned above there are more differences between the Wahhabis and Hanbalis. For example, even though Ahmad Hanbal and his followers forbade some matters which the Wahhabis forbid too, and even though they also sometimes carried out extreme actions, they did not call other Islamic sects unbelievers

1. *Al-Muslimoon fil Alam al-Youm*, vol. 3, p. 63-64 – what is understood is that the Wahhabis oppose *taqlid* which is allowed for other Islamic sects and they allow themselves to do *ijtihad* with regard to some matters and to interpret Qur'anic verses.

and they did not name Islamic cities lands of unbelief. The Hanbalis also did not call a person who did *ziyarah* of the Prophet's (s) grave or did *ziyarah* of one of the great people *mushriks*. They also did not order a person who abandoned his prayers to be killed.

It so happens that, due to the passage of time, lately less extreme views have been talked of and in the Sa'udi publications all the Muslims of the world whether Arab, non-Arab, black or white are all referred to using the word 'Muslim brothers'[1]. The facilities which the Sa'udi government has provided for the pilgrims of Maccah in recent years and the way pilgrims are treated confirm this.

The sons of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab had four sons called Abdullah, Hasan, Husayn and Ali. After his death (in 1206 and in the same way we described earlier on) his sons rose to spread the call of their father. They were called 'the Shaykh's sons'. The eldest was called Abdullah and he had two sons called Sulayman and Abd Al-Rahman. Sulayman's bigotry and prejudice with regard to the Wahhabi sect was more than his father's. We will explain later on that Sulayman was killed by Ibrahim Pasha in 1233, and his brother was banished to Egypt and died there after some time.

Husayn bin Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab had a son called Abd Al-Rahman and in the beginning of the first Wahhabi government in Maccah he was a judge in Maccah for some time. Abd Al-Rahman lived for nearly one hundred years. Most of the Sheik's offspring were from Husayn and now (at the time of Zaini Dahlan which is around one hundred years ago) they live in Dir'iyyah and are known as 'the Shaykh's sons'.[2]

1. Such as in the Jeddah edition of the 16th article of the *Bilad Newspaper* published on Dhil Hijja in 1386.
2. *Al-Durar al-Saniyyah*, p. 53.

SECTION FIVE
The earliest mention of the Wahhabi religion and beliefs in Iranian sources

From the beginning of the birth of the Wahhabi sect until today, it seems that the people of Iran are interested in knowing and in becoming familiar with the history of the Wahhabis and their beliefs. This is because of three occurrences and events:

1- The Wahhabi attack on Karbala and Najaf in 1216 A.H. We will give a detailed description of what happened later on, when discussing the history of the Wahhabis. On the date mentioned above, nobody found out about the incident apart from a group of nobles and informed men. This was because public means of communication, such as the telegraph, telephone, newspapers and other such facilities did not exist, and everyone remained unaware of the events that happened around them.

2- In 1344 A.H., the graves of the Baqi' Cemetery[1] were ruined and the Wahhabis gained unfounded notoriety for ruining the *mausoleum* of the holy Prophet (s). In this period of time, people did hear about the aforesaid event very quickly due to the various facilities of communication that existed and also due to the different methods by which news could be spread. This act was objected to in many different ways which we will explain later when discussing the history of the Wahhabis.

3- The incident of Abu Talib Yazdi in 1362 A.H. which we will mention later along with its various sources.

However, the earliest mentioning of the Wahhabis and their beliefs in Iranian sources in the Persian language, based on the information the author (*Ali Asghar Faqihi) has, is the writings of Abd Al-Latif Shushtari in the appendix of his book *Tuhfatul 'Alam*. He wrote his

1. Cemetery near the Prophet's (s) mosque and Haram.

book, *Tuhfatul 'Alam*, in 1216, around ten years after Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's death and in of the Wahhabi attack on Karbala and Najaf. The appendix was called *Thail Al-Tuhfa*. It is in this appendix that he gave a description of the Wahhabis which is mentioned word for word below:

> "I was there (in Bombay) when I heard the news of the offensive nature of Abdul-'Aziz Khan[1] Wahhabi, who had invaded the holy lands of Karbala Al-Mu'alla[2] with an army of Arabs on the eighteenth of Dhil Hijja in 1216 (when describing the history of the Wahhabis we will explain that Abdul-'Aziz did not attack Karbala himself but he sent his son Sa'ud to do so). He killed around four or five thousand believers. It is inappropriate to write down the rudeness that he showed towards the illuminated land (*i.e. Karbala). He plundered the city and the people's property and returned to the seat of his leadership, which was in Dir'iyyah. Now that we have reached this juncture, it is suitable to write down some of Wahhab's characteristics so that the reader can gain a complete understanding of him and his religion:
>
> Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, who was the founder of this sect, is from the people of Dir'iyyah, which is in the lands of Najd. He was famous among his relatives and peers for being clever and was described as ingenious. He was very generous and, whatever he could get his hands on, he generously gave to his followers.
>
> After studying some Arabic sciences and some Hanafi *fiqh* (correction: Hanbali) in his homeland he went to Esfahan. There in Yonankada[3] he learnt philosophy from famous scholars and high ranked rulers, and he gained insights on

1. The title 'Khan' which comes after the name of the Prince of Najd is used because the author of the book *Tohfatol 'Alam* was influenced by his surroundings. It is clear that the title 'Khan' was prevalent in Iran and India but there was no trace of it in Najd.
2. Mu'alla is the epithet of Karbala meaning the Exalted.
3. Greek house (*Greece was very advanced in sciences and philosophy at that time, and so places where many sciences were taught and which were advanced in the fields of philosophy were called Greek houses).

philosophical matters which were to mislead the common people who followed like animals. He then returned to his homeland and in 1171 (correction: 1153) or one or two years here and there—it is not clear when it was exactly—he became the leader of these people. His sect was Hanafi (correction: Hanbali), and in *usul al-din* he followed Imam al-Azam Abu Hanifah (correction: Ahmad Hanbal), and in *furu' al-din* he acted according to his own opinions.

In the end, he stopped following Imam al-Azam (correction: Ahmad Hanbal) on some matters of *usul al-din* and he independently said what he approved of according to his own opinion and he would invite people to believe in it. For example, he considered all the Islamic sects, the Jews, the Christians and followers of the rest of the religions of mankind to be *mushriks*, *kafirs* and idol worshippers. The reason he gave for the above belief was that the respect the Muslims show towards the holy grave of the Master of Messengers, the holy *rawdha*, the enlightened graves of the guided Imams, the illuminated domes of the successors and Awliyya' Allah, the *tawassul* they do and crying out in these places, and the wish to be successful and prosperous in this world and hereafter that they ask to be granted in these places which have been built out of mud and stone, resorting to the dead in the graves, prostrating in front of graves and asking for their needs in those places, is in reality idol worshipping. Like the idol worshippers they do not call their idol or figure God, but say it is our Qiblah, and they ask for their requests from God using their (*idol's or figure's) intercession. This is what the Jewish and Christians do. The Jewish and Christians have put pictures of Moses and Jesus in their places of worship and churches, and they worship Moses and Jesus and place them as their intercessors. To worship God is to only worship Him and prostrate to Him and not to place a partner with Him, glory be to His status.

To sum up, a group of the common people of his tribe chose to follow him. He gained fame and publicity in the lands of Najd, and he continually talked about destroying the Prophet's (s) dome and the illuminated mausoleums of the Imams, so that

when he had the chance and the power he would ruin them all and would level them with the ground, and so that no trace of them would be left behind. However, time did not give him the chance and he died.

His successor was Abdul-'Aziz[1]. Today (at the time when *Tuhfatul 'Alam* was written which is about one hundred and seventy five years ago) Abdul-'Aziz or his son Mas'ud (correction: Sa'ud) is caliph and is called Amir Al-Muslimin (*commander of the Muslims). He (*Abdul-'Aziz) did not stop at the people of Najd and invited far off cities to believe in his sect. He tried very hard to spread and propagate his beliefs. He issued a ruling for his followers and people, which stated that it was permissible to shed the blood of the people of other tribes and to plunder their money and properties, and he ordered his followers to kill the men and plunder the property of any land they were in but not to touch or look at their women. He would tell each one of the soldiers at war that the treasurer of heaven has allowed them to go to paradise (*by entering the battlefield and going to holy war), and that this right is hung around their neck (*figuratively speaking) so that after their death they could go to heaven straightaway and without delay and that after they died he would support their women and children. He made them covet the wealth in heaven and so he made them step into the battlefield sure of themselves and with confidence, because if they were able to conquer they would gain booties and if they were killed they would go to heaven straight away because of the right they have.

In previous years he was victorious in occupying the areas around Najd, Ahsa, Qatif and most of the Arab deserts up to less than four *farsakhs*[2] from Basrah and near 'Oman. He also defeated Bani 'Utaba (*a tribe). After the killing, captivity and plundering, the people acknowledged and accepted his sect, his faith and his ways, and his power and authority became

1. Refers to a given account of the life of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab (at the end of his life).
2. Unit of length, which is equal to 6.24 km.

famous around the world. Even though the Sultan of Rome and the Iranian king were repeatedly informed of his victories, no one stepped forward and no one dealt with and eliminated his sedition.[1]

I saw a thesis which he had written and which was about his *fatwas* and beliefs."

The author of *Tuhfat al-'Alam* then quotes the Arabic text of this thesis.[2]

Sayyid Abd Al-Latif Shushtari, who is the author of the book *Tuhfat al-'Alam*, lived in India for many years and he was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's contemporary.

Another person, who has talked about the Wahhabis, is the late Mirza Abul Qasim Qumi A.K.A Mirzay Qumi (1150-1231 A.H.). Mirzay Qumi was a great scholar in the beginning of the Qajariyeh dynasty, and he was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's contemporary, and he was an old man at the time of the Wahhabi attack on Karbala.

The late Mirza says the following in a letter which is written by hand and has remained until today:

"They Wahhabis are from the Sunni people and have the Hanbali faith. I was approximately 22 when I heard that a man, who had matured and was from the people of 'Uyaynah near Dir'iyyah, had come to Iraq. It seems that he had also visited preent Araq. In *'Atabat Al-'Aliyyat*[3] he observed the actions of the Shi'ah and he especially observed the Shi'ah's actions in the holy *rawdhas* where they kissed the shrine and honoured it and performed their prayers. He called the Shi'ah *mushrik* using the excuse that they worshiped their Imams because they prostrate and bow down to them and perform prayers for them. So that he could confirm this matter and so that he would not be accused of saying this as a result of enmity with the Ahl al-Bayt and the Shi'ah, he made a general rule and said: "It is not permissible to place someone as God's partner. If anyone worships, seeks help, asks

1. When we discuss the history of the Wahhabis, we will mention the measures Sultan 'Uthmani and Fath Ali Shah took against them.
2. *Dhayl Al-Tuhfa*, p. 8 onwards.
3. The holy cities of Karbala, Najaf and Baghdad, where the holy shrines are located.

for one's needs, offers a sacrifice and carries out similar matters to these for someone other than God then that person is a *mushrik*." Also Sa'ud, who is Abdul-Aziz's father (correction: 'Sa'ud, who is Abdul-Aziz's son') assisted and supported him, and after Abdul-Aziz, it was Sa'ud's turn to support and assist him. The Wahhabis believe that it is obligatory to battle with anyone who has a different creed from themselves and it is necessary to kill them. Several thousand Shi'ahs, scholars and pious ones were beheaded near the Master of Martyrs Imam Husayn in Karbala, and now I am nearly eighty years old……".[1] The last sentence shows that the late Mirza wrote this letter towards the end of his life.

Mirza Abd al-Razzaq Donboli (1167-1242 A.H.) is also one of the people, who was born at the beginning of the formation of the Wahhabi sect, and at the time of the attack on Karbala and Najaf he was quite old. He gives a relatively detailed description of the Wahhabis when giving an account of the events that took place in 1216 in his book (*Mahathir Sultaniyyah*, p. 84 onwards). He has also mentioned the attack on Karbala and we will give a summary of his writings below:

A summary of circumstances of Abdul-Aziz, the shaykh of the Arabs

Abdul-Aziz is the shaykh of the Arabs of the Bitamiz tribe. The following is a summary of his life:

He was one of the noblemen and shaykhs of the tribe. Abd Al-Wahhab Nami (correction: 'Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab') was from the Bitamiz tribe, and his education was mostly taught to him by Muhammad Nami (he means Shaykh Muhammad Majmu'ei), who was from the area around Basrah. Afterwards, he came to Esfahan to study and he spent a long time learning Islamic jurisprudence, theology and accidence and syntax in schools that were there, and he thought that he was informed about the minute details of the beliefs of every nation.

1. The author (Ali Asghar Faqihi) believes it is necessary to thank Mr. Mudarrisi Tabataba'i, who informed him of the existence of such a letter and gave him his own copy which was a photograph of the actual letter.

He believed that God's rule and command is the same for all and that it was necessary for messengers and a book, which is not doubted, to be sent down. He also believed that after the death of the Prophet (s) of the end of time[1], God's book was enough, and that in every age and period a *mujtahid* from the people would discover problems and extract the answers and matters from the book of God, and the people would act according to his sayings and opinion. This *mujtahid* was once Abu Bakr, once 'Umar, once 'Uthman and once Amir al-Mu'minin Haydar, at one period it was Shafi'i and Abu Hanifah and at one time it was Imam Ja'far Al-Sadiq ('a), and when one *mujtahid* passes away another will take his place.

Furthermore, he believed that the building of domes on sepulchres and graves, bringing presents and *nathr* for the shrines, gilding the shrines with gold and silver, doing their *ziyarah*, kissing the threshold of the door of the Haram of that group of people with high status, making *mohrs*[2] out of dust and clay and praying on them, were innovations in religious law and therefore *shirk*. He also believed that those who performed these acts had the same status as *kafirs* and that in the Qur'an God calls such people *mushriks*. (*He said that:) "These people make idols with their own hands and they believe it is a means by which they can reach God. They also circulated around, served and prostrated to these idols, and even though they did all this they knew and believed God to be One, and they believed those solid objects to be their intercessors that were means by which they could reach God, although they did not believe them to be independent gods. They have created some opinions and beliefs in religious matters –which are unfounded such as the above matters– a part of the *furu' al-din*." Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab went back to his tribe from Esfahan and he told his Shaykh about these matters and beliefs.

Due to the fact that Abdul-Aziz had it in mind to claim leadership and believed that life was such that whoever is cleverer and claims a new religion and new faith will easily reach his aim, he accepted his (*Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's) beliefs, and deviated from

1. i.e. Prophet Muhammad (s) (the last prophet).
2. A clay disc used for prostration.

religion and Sunnah and invited the Arabs to believe in it (*Wahhabism)…[1]

Due to the fact that he intended to destroy the shrines of the Imams of the religion (‘a) because he believed building them was an abominable and obscene innovation and because he intended to kill the neighbours of these shrines (who he believed to be idol worshippers and *mushriks*), he attacked Najaf several times. He thought that he could extinguish the light of truth but, by the help of God and because the Arab Shi’ah were informed about Khaza’a and other areas and because of the firmness of their fort, his plan failed. Thanks be to God that from the days of the rule of Nadir Shah Afshar up till the time of this successful emperor (Fath Ali Shah) the people of Iran are at ease and live in leisure, and whoever (from the Iranian people) had decided to emigrate has turned back to his country.

It was nearly six hundred years that the rich and wealthy people of Iran and India had left their countries because of the outbreak of sedition, and had sought refuge in the shrines of the Imams (‘a). They did this so that their lives and their wealth, whether pure or impure[2], were safe from the oppressors taking them and were safe from them being lost. Due to the large number of foreigners living near the holy sites of Najaf, Kadhimien and Karbala there was no space for the residents of these cities. As the residency of the foreigners continued for a long time and because of the large number of people living in these blessed lands, which were places of ascesis, *taqwa*, turning one’s back on worthless worldly matters, paying attention to the hereafter, not committing prohibitions and living without leisure, and due to the nature of humanity and the unruly habits of the soul, the people became so desirous of receiving interest (*on money), creating obscene innovations and committing ugly acts, that if they committed just one of these in any other Islamic country they would have deserved to be reproached and rather would have deserved to be punished. Gradually in all the holy sites and especially in Karbala,

1. We have previously discussed in detail that a relationship and agreement was formed for the first time between Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and Muhammad bin Sa‘ud who was Abdul-Aziz’s father, and it was not formed with Abdul-Aziz himself.

2. i.e. whether their wealth is gained in a correct and permissible way or in an incorrect and prohibited way.

shamelessness and recklessness reached such a degree that the prohibitions of Islamic law became permissible, and sins that were not even carried out in secret before started to be carried out openly. They were not embarrassed before God and they were not shy to do such things in front of Hujjat Allah[1] (*i.e. Imam Husayn), who is aware of secrets. Due to these mistakes and obscene acts, and due to busying themselves with collecting money, they did not visit the holy Haram even once a year.

Due to the fact that Abdul-Aziz fought to conquer the wall of the city of Najaf and because no negotiations took place, he aimed in addition to put in all his effort to destroy Karbala. By his orders Karbala, which was an area of Karb (*affliction) and Bala (*calamities) and which did not have a strong defensive wall, was attacked by Sa'ud and twelve thousand of his oppressive army. In the month of Dhil-Hijja in the same year (1216 A.H), Sa'ud rounded up his army and travelled via the desert to Karbala. He attacked Karbala on the day of Eid Al-Ghadir, without anyone knowing and without informing anyone of his attack. They killed and injured the old and young with their merciless swords, and they took the clothes of all the women off and left them naked although without raping and abusing them. They also broke the holy shrine and the grave of the Master of Martyrs due to their ignorance and disrespect. They plundered the Haram's treasury, the silver lanterns, carpets, and whatever they could find in the holy *rawdha*. They pulled off the bricks of gold and the mirrors of the Arsh Aaeen portico and they destroyed the doors and walls. They plundered all the gold, jewels and all the expensive gifts, which were sent from different countries in one go. There was a river of blood in the streets and the feeling and emotions of 'Ashura were roused once more. The number of those killed, which has been confirmed by reliable writers, is around five thousand people, and the amount of money that was plundered is not known by anyone apart from God.

1. Eminence or reverence (spiritual title), literally meaning proof of God.

After killing and plundering for seven or eight hours they put large amounts of plundered objects on their camels and turned towards Dir'iyyah….[1]

Mirza Abu Talib Khan Isfahani also lived at this time and he entered Karbala eleven months after the massacre of the people of Karbala. He heard about the events that took place from people who had witnessed the massacre. He has described the course of events in his travelogue, which also mentions a brief history of the Wahhabi, and he says the following:[2]

"The founder of this religion was Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and this name comes from the areas around Dijlah (correction: Najd). It is very likely that he grew up as a stepson in Ibrahim Nami's house, who was one of the Arabs of the Bani Harb tribe, and that he grew up in a village, which is in the areas around Dir'iyyah and which is one of the areas in Najd. He was famous for his cleverness and was described as intellectual and ingenious. He was also very generous and gave everything he had to his followers and helpers. After learning some Arabic sciences and some Hanafi (correction: Hanbali) *fiqh* in his country, he travelled to Esfahan. There he learnt philosophy from famous scholars. After he travelled to most of the cities of Iraq and Khorasan, and after he had travelled up to the borders of Ghaznain, he returned to his homeland.

"In 1153, give or take a year, he expressed his beliefs and stated the ideology of his sect. In the beginning he followed the great Imam Ahmad Hanbal in *usul al-din*, and in *furu' al-din* he acted upon his own opinions. In the end he stopped following Ahmad Hanbal in *usul al-din*, and whatever he thought was correct and good he independently chose to act upon, and he invited the people to follow his opinions. For example, he named all the Islamic sects *mushriks* and *kafirs*, and believed that they were the same as idol worshippers, and he believed they were worse than the *kafirs* and worse than the idol worshippers of 'Uzza and Hubal (names of two idols at the time

1. *Ma'athir Sultaniyyah,* p. 82-85 – It will be explained later that in the Wahhabi attack on Najaf and Karbala, the Wahhabis attacked Karbala first, and that their commander was Prince Sa'ud, who was Abdul-Aziz's son.
2. The description of the Wahhabi attack on Karbala, which has been quoted by Mirza Abu Talib will be given later, at the appropriate time.

of Jahiliyya[1]). This was because as he said that group of idol worshippers helplessly turned to God when they were affected by calamities, but when calamities occur for Muslims they call upon the Prophet, Ali, the Imams and the Sahabah[2]. Also he named the respect and honour that most of the Muslims show to the holy grave of the Master of the Prophets and the rightly guided Imams and the *tawassul* and seeking aid they do to them before God idol worshipping, and he believed that there was no difference between what the people did and idol worshipping. He said he believed this "because the idol worshippers, like the *kafirs* of India and China, also worship idols that they have built themselves, and they also say that they do not believe their idols are God but it is the place they turn to and via these idols they ask God for help.

"This is the same as the Jews and Christians, who have pictures of Moses and Jesus (ʻa) and worship them. Worshipping God is to worship God without placing any partner for Him and to only worship Him. All in all, a group of common people from the tribes of Najd joined him and followed him and gradually he became famous in those areas. He was always planning and thinking about ruining the holy Prophet's (s) dome and the holy mausoleums of the Imams when he gained the power to do so, but time did not give him a chance and he died. After him, his son, who was called Muhammad, became the Imam and Mufti of his sect and faith. Muhammad is totally blind till now, and he is alive and lives in seclusion."[3]

1. Age of ignorance.
2. Companions of the Prophet (s).
3. This part is totally wrong because it is obvious that the founder of the Wahhabi faith is Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab not Abd Al-Wahhab, and as we said before Abd Al-Wahhab strongly opposed his son's beliefs. Furthermore, with regards to him being blind and the fact that he and Abdul-Aziz bin Saʻud were both educated and grew up with Ibrahim Nami, who was from the Bani Harb tribe, was not found by this author (i.e. Ali Asghar Faqihi) in any other source. It is noteworthy to mention that some of the events and matters that were quoted from Mirza Abu Talib are the same as those quoted from Sayyid Abd Al-Latif Shooshtari. These two writers were contemporaries and it seems that Shooshtari got his information from Abu Talib.

The mentioning of Abdul-Aziz, the first Wahhabi caliph and his son Sa'ud (*quoted from Abu Talib Khan Isfahani*)

"Abdul-Aziz, who was also educated by the aforementioned Ibrahim, became his successor and was known as Amir Al-Muslimin[1]. He became the leader of an army and he obtained rulership. He is a tall man, has a large figure and has a beautiful voice. Even though he is more than seventy years old his army has not become weak, and it is forty years since a member of his household has died. He says that until this religion has not become strong and fixed, none of us will die. This reasoning that he gives makes the common people believe in Wahhabism more. He has a very courageous and prudent son, who is called Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz who is the commander of the army and who is his successor.

"To sum up, Abdul-Aziz visits Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab twice a week. He asks him about religious matters and he sends messengers to different lands to inform people of his *fatwas*. He follows him[2] in prayer and follows his opinions on other religious laws, and he is more harsh and severe in this sect than Abd Al-Wahhab is. (Therefore) He was not satisfied and did not stop at the areas around Najd and he invited far off lands to follow his sect. He has made it permissible for his followers to kill the people, and to plunder the money and properties of other sects, and has also made the women of other sects permissible for them. He said, "If they get killed he will support their women and children in this world, and that he will guarantee their entrance into heaven." When the soldiers come and ask permission to go on the battlefield, he tells them that the treasurer of heaven has ordered you to go to the battlefield (*so that they can enter paradise) and that their right to go to paradise will be hung around their neck (*figuratively speaking). After the separation of the soul, they will enter heaven without being asked any questions and without delay, and their high status will be talked of in stories that will astonish listeners. He sits on the ground and talks to people without arrogance and acts justly with peasants. All the income of the land is used to equip the armies and is used for necessary expenses. His army, like the time of the advent of Islam, consists of numerous Arab tribes,

1. Commander/leader of the Muslims.
2. *Prays behind him in congregational prayers.

who are present when he orders them to be, and this is so that they may receive the reward of holy war and because of their greed in receiving booties. A fifth (*of the plundered money and properties) was his share and the rest were counted as booty (*and given to soldiers). Everyone eats little and is thin and hard working. They are satisfied with one date as food for their whole day, and one coarse Abaya[1] is all they need for many years. Their horses are pure Nejds and come from noble generations, and they do not give their Najd horses to anyone other than their people. Up till now they have occupied all of the Arabian Peninsula apart from Muscat, Maccah and Medinah. The reason he did not occupy Maccah and Medinah was firstly because of the respect he had for God's house. He would invite the pilgrims from any tribe to a feast and would then escort[2] them and see them off, on the condition that the tribes of the pilgrims passed his land, otherwise he would make the people return. The other reason he did not occupy Maccah and Medinah was because Sharif Maccah pretended he was one of his devotees. The princes of Istanbul provoked Sharif Maccah to express his independence and leadership to Abdul-Aziz.

"Therefore, Abdul-Aziz was assured that he would conquer those lands and so he sent his numerous armies to those areas. He first massacred the people of Ta'if, burnt it, took captives and, because it was the time for the Hajj rites, he stopped there. Then like a sudden calamity he went to Maccah and conquered it. After destroying several holy places he went to Jeddah. He besieged Jeddah. Sharif fled to the Red Sea riding a camel, and the people of Jeddah gave money (*to Abdul-Aziz) to secure their safety and security and made peace. As Sa'ud wanted to go to the lands of Oman, he was satisfied with what he had done and hurriedly went to those lands. Sharif returned to Jeddah and got Maccah back. Sharif killed the small number of people that were in that land and made the others flee. However, Sa'ud went from Jeddah to Muscat, and he attacked Muscat and fought with the sultan of that country. The Arab tribes living in the areas around Muscat accepted his religion and beliefs and they turned away from

1. A full length, sleeveless outer garment worn by Arabs.
2. The word escort here means the horsemen, who travelled with the caravan, so that they can be safe from the theft carried out by bandits.

their sultan. The sultan's brother, who claims leadership, has become Wahhabi, and Wahhabi has given him the title of Imam Al-Muslimin. Therefore, sultan has nothing apart from the city of Muscat and the areas around it and because Sa'ud knows that in the end he will occupy it, he does not attack it. The people of Hilla and Basrah cannot sleep at night because of the fear they have from Wahhabi. In Karbala and Najaf the people of the cities guard the cities at night. They took the expensive ornaments and objects from the Haram of Najaf to Kadhimain and they are kept there.

"It seemed like Basrah would be conquered by him very soon, because he had invaded up to Zubair, which was 3 *farsakhs* from Basrah. He occupied the lands of the 'Atub tribes, who know about riding camels and have few camels, two years ago. He has made the provisions at sea more than the provisions on land. After conquering Basrah, he conquered Baghdad and afterwards he conquered the lands of Istanbul easily."[1]

Another one of the oldest Iranian literary works, which mentions the beliefs of the Wahhabis, is the book *Bustan Al-Siyyaha* by Hajj Zeyn Al-'Abidin Shirawani (1253-1194), who was the famous Sufi at the time of Fath Ali Shah. He met Prince Sa'ud and asked him about the Wahhabi faith, and Sa'ud answered him. Below is the exact text that is found in Bustan Al-Siyyaha:

"One day the author asked the Prince what the truth of the Wahhabi faith was, and who was its founder.

"He answered, "The Wahhabi faith was not founded. Due to the fact that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab circulated it and propagated it in this period, the people thought it was founded by him, otherwise it is not new and it is the same old religion (i.e. Islam)." He believes that apart from God no one is worthy of worship, and that the intercession of the Prophets, Awliyya' Allah, and Awsiyya[2] has no meaning (*i.e. does not exist). He also believes that building domes and courts over the graves of the Prophets and the Awsiyyah is an innovation, and that

1. *Safar Namaya Mirza Abu Talib* (*Masir Talibi* – Mirza Abu Talib's travelogue), p. 409 onwards).
2. Guardian appointed by testament/successor.

carrying out any matter or issue, which did not exist at the holy Prophet's (s) time is misleading….

"Asking for intercession from the Prophets, Awsiyyah and angels is blasphemy and polytheism, and any matter which did not exist at the time of the Prophet (s) and came into existence after the Prophet (s) is an innovation and an innovation is misleading. Such as smoking hookah, men wearing women's clothes, decorating mosques and worshipping areas, gilding the Qur'an, wearing makeup, building on the graves of the Prophets and the Awsiyyah, allowing one's moustache to grow long, colouring hands and feet, making clothes tight, looking similar to women, paying homage to specific people, kissing shrines, taking charges and taxes, wearing very long or short clothes and women riding on decorated horses. All of these are innovations…

"The author has seen a thesis on the Wahhabi faith, which is written by the Wahhabis. In the thesis they prove and confirm their sect is correct with Qur'anic verses and Prophetic Hadiths."[1]

The Wahhabis are mentioned in other Iranian sources, such as in *Nasikh Al-Tawarikh*, *Rowdhat Al-Safaya Nasiri* and *Muntadham Nasiri* and we will point out what has been written in them when giving an account of the Wahhabi attack on Karbala and Najaf.

As you have observed, the information the Iranian writers had about the Wahhabis was very limited and was incorrect to some extent. The reason for this could be that at that time the Wahhabis did not have much of a relationship with the outer world. According to Mirza Abu Talib another reason could be: "Because the people were tricked by the Ottoman princes they did not carry out and accept Abd Al-Wahhab's beliefs and opinions"[2], and it is obvious that any news related to the Wahhabis had to pass the Ottoman realm till it could reach Iran.

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1. *Bustan Al-Siyaha*, p. 602, footnote of the word Najd. In Hadaiq Al-Siyaha, p. 545), Shirawani has mentioned the same matter but with some differences. Such as, instead of 'meeting Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz in Najd', he has mentioned 'meeting Sa'ud's son', who is called Shaykh Abdullah.
2. *Safar-Namehya Mirza Abu Talib*, p. 409.

Most importantly, facilities with which one could receive news were very limited at that time and untrustworthy most of the time. It was mostly the travellers who brought news, and most of the time they were satisfied with rumours and sometimes they added something to it too. Nevertheless, throughout the aforementioned writings, especially Mirza Abu Talib's writings, one finds interesting and new matters which can be effective and useful when studying the history of the Wahhabis. Considering that these writings were written by people who lived at the start of the formation of the Wahhabi sect and that the aforementioned incidents took place in their time, their writings have great historical value.

SECTION SIX
The centre of the Wahhabi propagation

As was discussed previously, the beliefs and teachings that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab expressed were the same beliefs and teachings that Ibn Taymiyyah expressed a few centuries before him. However Ibn Taymiyyah expressed his beliefs in an environment which was not ready to accept his beliefs, but the environment in which Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab expressed his beliefs was ready to accept those beliefs for different reasons. In addition, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab had the help and assistance of the rulers of that region. Even though in the beginning he was faced with opposition and hardships, nevertheless due to the favourableness of the environment he managed to solve the problems very quickly and was successful.

The state of the land of Najd close to Shaykh Muhammad's ideology was such that he could spread his teachings and beliefs there. However the events that happened later on proved that apart from Najd other lands were not as prepared to accept his views as Najd was. This is why the Wahhabis did not manage to annex other areas and the borders of their occupation did not exceed Najd. Their teachings did not spread very much in other places but some supporters of the Wahhabis worked to spread the Wahhabi religion in different areas.

Taking the aforesaid matters into consideration, it seems suitable to first discuss the state Najd was in, close to the Wahhabi ideology and later the spread of the Wahhabi ideology. Then we will continue with discussion of the two forces that enabled the spread and execution of Wahhabi teachings in Najd and Hejaz; namely, we will discuss the household of Sa'ud and Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan. After that we will talk about the influence and penetration of the Wahhabi sect in areas outside Najd and Hejaz and the efforts made to propagate it. The following sections of this book will be about these matters.

The land of Najd

Najd is a large area which is in the Arabian Peninsula. Today it is counted as a part of the country of Sa'udi Arabia. The word Najd means elevated and because the land of Najd is higher than the areas around it, it is named Najd. The centre of Najd is the famous city of Riyadh which is in the 'Aridh region. Today this city is the official capital city of Sa'udi Arabia. The other famous cities of Najd are the two cities of 'Unaiza and Buraydah in the Qasim region, the city of Shqra' in the Washam region, the city of Dir'iyyah in the region of 'Aridh, the villages of the Duasir tribes and many other villages and areas.

Najd is bounded in the south by the cities of Yamama and Ahqaf, in the east by Iraq and Ahsa and Qadif, in the north by the Syrian Desert and in the west by the Hejaz region.

Alusi says, "Najd is the best and most temperate Arab land and has unparalleled flowers and plants, plentiful produce, drinkable water and the cleanest air compared to all the Arab regions. The valleys of Najd are like gardens full of flowers and its wells are like pools filled with water."[1] The poets of the past and the poets of today are always writing poems describing Najd and its cities.[2] Here Alusi mentions some poems, which describe Najd.

Yaqut Hamawi says: "The number of poems that have been written by poets describing Najd and the eagerness and enthusiasm to see it and go there, has not been written about anywhere else."[3] Yaqut has also written similar poems himself. It seems that not many Islamic poets lived in Najd so when describing it poets have been influenced and affected by the poems of the time of the Jahiliyya. In reality the remembrance of Najd is the remembrance of good memories, a good life which is pure and simple, and a life lived with nature surrounding you and enjoying having all your wishes and wants come true. Some Persian speaking poets have also been affected by these poems and have talked about Najd and the companions of Najd.

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1. It seems that here Najd is compared with the dry lands and deserts surrounding it.
2. *Tarikh Najd*, p.9.
3. *Ma'jam Al-Buldan*, vol. 4, p. 74.

The people of Najd

Alusi has said the following about the people of Najd: "The Najd people are divided into two groups, Bedouins and urbans. There are fewer urbans than Bedouins. Most of the Arabs prefer living in the desert rather than living in cities and villages. The urbans make a living out of trade; agriculture; dates; rearing camels, cows, and sheep; and craftsmanship. Their food is oil, milk, beef and sheep, wheat, barley, rice, corn, sesame and other such foods. The Bedouins make their living out of mutton, cows and camels. The Bedouins eat the meat of camels and drink their milk and they mostly eat desert mice and rabbits.

The people of Najd generally eat locusts and locusts are the best thing that they store for food and they think it is the most delicious food. The Najd people are very fond of drinking coffee and they make good coffee. The people of Najd are not interested in tourism and travelling to far away countries, such as Europe, and because of this trade is a profession that has fewer supporters."

Alusi also says: "The Najd people have levelled their historic monuments, inscriptions, and writings on stone which were thought to be of the Himiyari and Tababi'a era (the dynasty of the old Yemen kings) so that the English world explorers would not come to see the relics in their cities. These relics are near Sudus in the 'Aridh region.[1]

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1. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 280 – Nevertheless around eighty years ago a few European world explorers such as Dotty and Baroon Nalda went to the Shammar Mountain and viewed it from a close distance. Shammar Mountain was Al Rashid's home. Al Rashid was one of the Najd princes (Al Sa'ud was the cause of his fall). In addition in 1879 (1297 A.H.), Lady Anne Blunt travelled to Shammar Mountain and to some of Najd and Hejaz with her husband Wilfred who was a famous English writer. She wrote what she observed in an travelogue which consists of a few vol.s. In this journey she got hold of some ancient works. One of the interesting topics in her travelogue is the description she gives of an Iranian Hajj (*pilgrimage) caravan. From p. 249 onwards, the section that is translated into Arabic.
(In the footnote of p. 75, of appendix No 4, of the eleventh year of the magazine of the study of historic events, and its heading is 'The relations of Iran with the independent government of Najd') Ahmad Al-Jasir, the famous Arab researcher, says in the book fi *Shimaal Gharb Al-Jazirah* that Sharol Havir the famous French Orientalist, went to Ha'el to see Muhammad bin Rashid the ruler of Ha'el at the end of the nineteenth century while on his second journey to Najd. He went there to study Najd's remaining relics. Muhammad sent someone after him to kill him when

To summarise, the people of Najd (at the time of Alusi) did not leave their country readily and they were not fond of others, especially the English, entering their country.

The men's clothes of the urbans of Najd consisted of a common garment and a cloak and Qaba[1] on top. The scholars put a turban on their head. The rest of the people put an '*iqal* (*headband) on their head and wore clogs and held a walking stick in their hand. They also used good perfume such as musk and ambergris.

Alusi says with regard to the character of the Najd people that: "Their character is like the Arabs of olden times. This basically means they are loyal to the promises they give. With respect to their jealousy, protection of female members of the family, nobleness, supporting guests, truthfulness, bravery, incredible cleverness and good character and morals they are like the Arabs of the olden times."[2]

The state urbans and Bedouins of Najd close to the time of the Wahhabi Ideology

Hafidh Wahba says the following with respect to the state and circumstances of the Najd people close to the time of Wahhabi's ideology: "The Bedouin did not think about anything apart from plundering and banditry and believed that these acts were something to be proud of. A person who was weak in the desert was helpless and hopeless. The Bedouins would say, "All wealth is God's wealth, one day it is mine and one day it is yours, in the morning I am poor and in the afternoon I am rich."

A caravan which traded could only pass the areas where the Bedouins lived safely if they paid charges to the Bedouins or the people of the caravan were friends with one of the Bedouins. A Bedouin never put

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he left the borders of his emirate, and Muhammad burnt all his papers and writings and took Sharol's clothes and the provisions he had, for himself (the aforesaid matter was summarised).

1. Long garment worn by men open in front/ padded tunic.

2. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 41 onwards. The description that Alusi gives about the people of Najd is related to his time, which was around one hundred and thirty years ago. It is clear that the Najd people's wealth and way of life has changed very much in this time. The people of only a part of Najd are the same as they were before and every year they participate in the rituals of Hajj and they are called bedouins.

himself in danger. If a Bedouin felt that the plundering he might do would bring about danger or he presumed a strong defence from the opposite side, he would change his mind and abandon his plundering. A Bedouin was not sincere in his speech and friendships and hypocrisy was a part of his nature. The Najd rulers most of the time did not trust the large number and force of the Bedouins. This was because most of the time the Bedouins would stick to people who they believed they were friends and fellow travels with. That is to say, when it was clear there would be defeat for their Prince or ruler, the Bedouins would be the first people to plunder their prince's wealth. The Bedouins would say, "Now that his wealth is going to be plundered or he himself is going to be captured, we are more worthy of doing it than others."[1]

With respect to religion, Najd like other places (peninsula) was the centre of superstitions and corrupt beliefs which were inconsistent with the correct *usul al-din*. In that region there were graves which were attributed to the companions of the Prophet (s). People would visit these graves and ask for their needs to be given and would resort to them to prevent hardships. One of these graves was the grave of Zayd Ibn Al-Khattab which was in the Hubaila region. People would visit Zayd's grave so that they could feel better and so that they could obtain their wants and needs.

Furthermore, in the city of Manfooha, girls who were not married yet and were getting old would resort to a male date tree. They believed that in the same year they would find a husband and it was with this intention that they would stand opposite the tree and say:

"يا فحل الفحول اريد زوجا قبل الحلول"

"Oh master of all the males, before the coming of the New Year, I want a husband".

In the city of Dir'iyyah there was a cave which was thought to be holy. The people believed that the daughter of one of the princes who

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 313, even after when the Wahhabi government came into power they still breached their promises and would join the enemy and would tell tales and were seditious refer to Ibn Bishr's *Tarikh Najd*, vol. 1, p. 19, 212.

was imprisoned by the torture of an oppressor sought refuge in a mountain, and the mountain opened and gave the girl refuge.

There were no laws and regulations in Najd. The princes and their agents would do whatever they wanted. Every province had an Prince and there were no state relations between the princes at all.

The urbans were constantly at war and were constantly quarrelling with the Bedouins. The princes would also invade their neighbours at any opportunity if they felt any weakness existed in them.[1]

A summary of the attitudes, morals and social conditions of the Najd people

Hafidh Wahba (forty something years ago) discussed the attitudes, morals and attributes of the people of Najd. It is suitable to give a summary of what he has said here:

The greater part of the residents of the Arabian Peninsula, especially the Bedouins and nomadic tribes, are unaware of the titles that are customary in other places and countries. Therefore, when addressing anyone even kings and princes they only say their name or use normal and usual titles.

The one who is waited on calls his servant 'boy' or 'little boy'. When an elder in the family wants to ask for coffee he calls out "bring coffee." The servant who hears this order repeats it with a loud voice and this order is repeated in the same way until it reaches the ears of the person in charge of preparing the coffee and he makes it ready. Lately, King Ibn Sa'ud uses an electrical bell to give notices rather than calling out in the same manner as above. However, when he is hunting or in the desert and wants to summon one of his servants or one of the people surrounding him he also calls that person's name out loud, and whichever servant hears his voice repeats the same name, and this is repeated until it reaches the person that was wanted.

Servants call their lord and master uncle, and they call their lady aunty. When food is ready everyone sits around the tablecloth and a servant says with a loud voice Sammi, which means in the name of God. They take all the guests coffee—no matter how low in status

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 336-337.

they may be. However, if it is someone who has a high status they bring him coffee a second time. No one can reject the coffee that is given to them.

From twenty years ago (this has been written by Hafidh Wahba forty something years ago, so instead of twenty years it is sixty something years ago) drinking tea was customary for the Bedouins and urbans. The Bedouins boil their tea a lot so that it becomes dark and bitter.

In Najd and the Arabian deserts it is tradition to kiss the nose and forehead or shoulders of an elder when returning from a short journey. In Hejaz kissing hands was customary; however, when the Ikhwan sect and the Najd scholars entered Hejaz they renounced kissing hands. In spite of this after a few years they made it permissible and now (at the time when the book *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin* was written) the people of Hejaz kiss kings's hands and the hands of the judges and they do not think it's rude to do so.[1]

Before, the nobles of Maccah did not stretch out their hands so they may be kissed by people because they thought themselves to be higher than that, and so people were content with kissing a corner of their clothes.[2]

One of the ways of honouring a guest was to bring coffee for him. In Najd they poured five or six drops of coffee and they would repeat this until the guest moved his hands to signal that he has had enough. They give the guests bitter coffee without sugar and the first cup of coffee is drunk by the host or the servant in charge of pouring the coffee in the cup so that they could make sure the coffee is not burnt and has no faults and is made well.

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1. Many of the matters which the Ikhwan sect and the Najd scholars renounced and found fault in, such as new inventions and smoking tobacco, became permissible with the passing of time.

2. This quality was something the nobles of Maccah inherited from the Abbasid caliphs, who would say normal people are not worthy of kissing our hands. The arrogance of some of the ministers at that time had reached such a level that they would say normal people and writers are not worthy of standing in front of us to show respect. A detailed account is given in the book *Tarikh 'Adhd Al-Dawlah Dailami* written by the writer in the section related to the social state and circumstances of the fourth century.

In banquets rose water and the incense of aloeswood is a sign to say that it is not permissible for the guest to stay any longer and he must go.

When eating, it is customary to put a big bowl of food, and if there are many guests a few big bowls of food on the floor. Those present gather around each bowl and eat their food without a spoon and with their hands and without paying attention to the difference statuses everyone has. It is possible that a king, shaykh, minister and servant eat together from one bowl. Whenever a person becomes full before the others he does not get up until everyone finishes eating and then they get up all together. If someone gets up by mistake the others who have not become full yet also get up. King Abdul-Aziz abolished this custom and allowed anyone who becomes full to get up and go. However the aforesaid custom is still practiced in Najd.

The women usually do not eat with the men, and if a woman eats with her husband or her elder sons it is seen as a very rude and uncouth thing to do. Young children can eat with their mother and father, however if girls grow older they have to eat with their mothers. This custom takes place in Najd but in Hejaz it is only customary for families which are descendants of the people of Najd.

The elders of the Arabs rarely taught their sons anything apart from archery, horse riding and hunting, and some of them thought that wanting to gain knowledge was rude.[1]

When one of the princes saw his son attending lessons, he said, “This boy has become deranged. Being a prince is not compatible with wanting to obtain knowledge.”[2]

Trade to the Arabs means to be a blacksmith, carpenter, goldsmith, silversmith, weaver, one who repairs guns, veterinarian, or some other professions that have to do with medicine. The professions to do with

1. Some of the caliphs of Bani Umayyah believed obtaining knowledge was the duty of servants and their inferiors and that they were higher than having the need to obtain knowledge. They would say royalty and ruling are specifically for us. It seems it was written in one of the translations of Mr Dhabeeh Allah Mansoori that in the middle ages the noblemen in Europe were proud of being illiterate.
2. Hafidh Wahbah says here that: “We are happy that some elders in these last few years are sending their sons to Beirut and Alexandria to obtain knowledge.”

medicine are jobs such as phlebotomy and heating up wounds. Craftsmanship is one of the low and worthless jobs in the eyes of the Arabs and for this reason whoever chooses one of the aforesaid jobs as their profession was either not Arab or came from families which were not well-known. When they wanted to say abusive words to someone they would say, "Oh son of the craftsman." This sentence was said to someone when they wanted to use an indecent expression that represented all the indecent words and abusive language and they wanted to belittle that someone.

Hafidh Wahba then says: "What is strange is that the Arabs still prefer rearing camels, grazing sheep, and driving away rabbits to buying and selling, craftsmanship and trade."[1]

This was a short description of the well-off and rich families of Najd and among this description the way normal people and Bedouins lived was discussed to some extent.

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Considering what we have briefly said about the qualities, morals, character and customs of the Arabs of Najd, one can to some degree understand the reasons for the progress of the Wahhabi ideology. The Najd people followed their princes and the princes were thinking about progress and gaining victory over their opponents and protecting their own interests. We understood that Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab faced hardships in the beginning but after Muhammad bin Sa'ud (the Prince of a part of Najd) helped him and supported him his ideology flourished and it started to expand and he found many followers.

Furthermore, Shaykh Muhammad waged war against the opponents, which he called holy war, as the principle of his ideology so that his followers would attack tribes and other areas, and after winning against their enemies they would occupy their land and take ownership of their wealth. The Bedouins who were used to such things turned to Shaykh Muhammad, especially because the Bedouins

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, a summary from p. 121 till p. 153.

were enemies with each other and every tribe was ready and prepared to attack other tribes.[1]

Furthermore, Shaykh Muhammad would invite people to believe in the beliefs that existed in the first advent of Islam and religion and in the *sirah* of the Salaf Salih (*devout ancestors). He told them that if they were to follow him, they would be like the companions of the Prophet (s) and his followers. With his words he made them feel that they were the only *muwahhids* and true Muslims and they would be the people of heaven. He also told them that if they were killed in the way of his ideology or they killed in the way of his ideology, eternal happiness would be theirs.

In those times Najd was a far off place and not many people went there and it was rare for the Najd people to travel to places outside of Najd. The inhabitants of Najd were people who were simple and unaware. Their minds were empty of everything happening around them and it was rare for them to have an opinion or belief on their minds. It was natural that such people would be influenced by the Shaykh's teachings very quickly, defend them with bigotry, and even give their lives in the way of his teachings.

If we suppose that Wahhabi's ideology was expressed in an environment different from Najd under different circumstances, would he still have progressed the same way he did in Najd? It seems the answer would be negative. According to further information that will be presented later, Wahhab's ideology spread to a few other places outside of Najd and distinguished people put in a lot of effort to make it spread. Even in Punjab in India the propagators of Wahhab's ideology used the same methods that Shaykh Muhammad and his

1. From studying the history of the combats between the Najd people and their enemies such as the Uthmanis, one finds that they did not all fight because of their beliefs and faith. There were a few occasions where when they saw their Prince was weak against the enemy they joined the enemy. In the history books of Maccah and in the book *Tarikh Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah* such events are mentioned.

followers used to use in Najd; however, none of these efforts yielded the desired results like they did in Najd.[1]

1. With regard to the topic under discussion refer to the comparison given between Shaykh Muhammad and Ibn Taymiyyah at the end of the account of Shaykh Muhammad's life.

SECTION SEVEN
The Sa‘ud Dynasty

Without doubt the Sa‘ud dynasty was the most important factor to the spread and penetration of the Wahhabi ideology in Najd and Hejaz. They even named the Wahhabi sect as the official sect of the country and it was with their assistance that Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab was able to spread his call and make the tribes of Najd follow him. It was also the Sa‘ud dynasty that put much effort in propagating Shaykh Muhammad’s beliefs after his death and did not give up when they were faced with any sort of obstacles. As a result, when studying the history of the Wahhabis, a greater part of it is related to the history of the Sa‘ud dynasty. According to Hafidh Wahba, the Sa‘ud household: “Was from the tribe of ‘Anara and before Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab they owned a small emirate in Najd. Their emirate did not have a particular status or known name from among the other emirates of the Arabian Peninsula. However in 1150 A.H, after Shaykh Muhammad went to Shaykh Sa‘ud and they made an agreement, which was mentioned earlier, battles and fights arose between the Prince of Sa‘udi and the other princes and tribes of Najd. In all these battles the Prince of Sa‘udi was victorious. Gradually the government of the Sa‘ud Dynasty developed and had a great influence on the destiny of Najd, and later on, on the other areas of the Arabian Peninsula. The government of the Sa‘ud dynasty counts as the most important effective factor in Najd and the Arabian Peninsula.”

From that time until today (around two hundred and forty years) the ruling of Najd was in the hands of the Sa‘ud dynasty. From around forty to fifty years ago the ruling and reign of Hejaz was also in the hands of the Sa‘ud dynasty. With the exception of a short time when the Rashid Household gained control over Najd and threw Abd Al-Rahman bin Sa‘ud out of Najd, no force or power even the Ottomans and Muhammad Ali Pasha was able to completely wipe out the influence of the Sa‘udis and their power over Najd.

The beginning of the rule of Al Sa‘ud

The Sa‘ud household came from the Muqran clan and belonged to the ‘Anara or ‘Unayzah tribe. This tribe lived in Najd and the areas around it such as Qadif and Ahsa from many years ago.

The first person from this household who was able to rule for a short period of time was a man called Mani’i, and this was because he had a kinship with the Prince of Yamama. He was appointed by the Prince of Yamama as leader of two areas around Dir’iyyah, and this leadership was passed on to his children. After Mani’i his son Rabi’a became the ruler and he expanded his domain. Rabi’a had a son called Musa who was a very skilful and daring young man. Musa took the leadership away from his father and was close to killing him. Musa obtained great power and he overthrew Al Yazid who ruled in a land around there. Thus the Muqran household or the ‘Unayzah tribe established a small state and became famous in Najd and the areas around it. Despite this, they were not the source of a major change or outcome until Muhammad bin Sa‘ud came into power and made his agreement with Muhammad bin Abd A-Wahhab.

* * *

In the Islamic encyclopaedia, the history of the Wahhabi (or Al Sa‘ud) reign over Dir’iyyah and Riyadh has been divided into three periods, which are as follows:

1- From the beginning of its foundation and establishment till the attack of the Egyptian army in 1820 A.D. (around 1240 A.H.). In this period the city of Dir’iyyah was the centre of the Wahhabi government.

2- From the time that Turki and Faisal al-Sa‘ud (who were princes of Sa‘udi) got back the leadership that they lost until Ibn Rashid’s attack. Ibn Rashid was the ruler of Haael (from 1820 to 1902 A.D.). In this period the centre of their government was in Riyadh.

3- From 1902 onwards when Ibn Sa‘ud took Riyadh back from Al Rashid.[1] Since then the Sa‘udi government expanded quickly and progressed.

1. *Dairatol Ma’arif Islami*, vol. 1, p. 191. Arabic translation.

The aforesaid divisions for the periods of the Sa'udi rulings is appropriate and fitting because every one of those three periods are completely different from the other and the manner in which every period started is different from the others.

Muhammad bin Sa'ud

When mentioning the life of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab some of the efforts of Muhammad bin Sa'ud in propagating the new call and ideology were mentioned. We also pointed out that the Shaykh assured him and made him confident by promising him victory over all the other princes of Najd.

What one should mention about Muhammad bin Sa'ud is that it was his correct judgement and diagnosis of situations and his steadfastness in reaching his aim that enabled him not to be disappointed by difficulties and not to allow weakness ever to overtake him. It is clear and obvious that suggesting beliefs to people –who for centuries were used to holding different beliefs– and, apart from their own beliefs, thought everything else was wrong, false and void, was not easy. This is why in the beginning Sheik Muhammad and Muhammad bin Sa'ud were faced with difficulties.[1]

Hafidh Wahba says: "The year 1178 was the most difficult year for Muhammad bin Sa'ud. This is because the ruler of Ahsa called Arar bin Khalidi, and the ruler of Najran called Sayyid Husayn bin Hibat Allah united together by oath to attack Dir'iyyah and to wipe out the new religious ideology, and to destroy the glory and power of the propagators of Wahhabism. Muhammad bin Sa'ud also saw that even though Arar's army and the other opponents had not arrived yet, his son was defeated in the Ha'ir region, which is between Kharaj and Riyadh. These events made Sa'ud very apprehensive. Nevertheless Shaykh Muhammad assured him that everything would be all right with his words.

1. The first person that rose in opposition against Muhammad bin Sa'ud and attacked Dir'iyyah and killed his two sons Faisal and Sa'ud was Dahaam bin Taawus (the thesis of Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman Al Shaykh on p. 24, vol. 2, Ibn Bishr).

Meanwhile peace was made by Shaykh Muhammad and Muhammad bin Sa'ud with the Prince of Najran."[1] Therefore, the danger that threatened Muhammad bin Sa'ud in that region was eliminated.

It is written in the Islamic Encyclopaedia that after the agreement between Muhammad bin Sa'ud and Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab in 1159, Muhammad bin Sa'ud attacked all the neighbouring cities around him and the Bedouin areas which were near, and he plundered their wealth and properties. This caused the powerful princes of Najd such as Bani Khalid from Ahsa and Al Mukarrami from Najran, who were his neighbours, to intervene. However, they were unable to stop the Wahhabis from progressing. The noblemen of Maccah[2] who also believed that the Wahhabis were apostates did not give them permission to visit the holy places.

Zayni Dahlan says, "The Wahhabis sent someone to Sharif Mas'ud to get permission to go to Hajj. The ultimate purpose of going to Hajj was to present their beliefs to the people of Haramain Al-Sharifain. Before this they sent thirty scholars to prove that the beliefs of the people of Maccah and Medinah were corrupt.

The Wahhabis were even prepared to pay an arranged salary in return for permission to go to Hajj. The people of Maccah and Medinah had heard of the coming into existence of the Wahhabi religion but they were unaware of the truth of the matter. When the scholars of Najd arrived at Maccah, Sharif[3] Mas'ud ordered the scholars of Haramain Al-Sharifain to debate with them. In the end Sharif Mas'ud ordered judge Sharih to write a declaration and proof of their blasphemy. He then imprisoned them and tied their hands and feet with chains and made them wear iron collars.[4]

In 1162 the noblemen of Maccah informed the Sublime Ottoman Porte of the actions and the ideology of the Wahhabis. This was the first

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 244.
2. What is meant by the noblemen of Maccah is the princes and rulers of Maccah who at that time were chosen by the Ottoman kings. We shall talk about them in the appropriate place.
3. This title was used for the rulers –it literally means honourable and noble.
4. *Al-Durar al-Saniyyah*, p. 43-44.

time the Ottoman government was informed of the Wahhabi ideology. After 30 years of ruling, Muhammad bin Sa'ud died in 1179.[1]

Abdul-Aziz Muhammad bin Sa'ud 1179 – 1218

Abdul-Aziz was Muhammad bin Sa'ud's eldest son who took hold of the reigns of the government after his father. He tried very hard to expand his lands and to help in the progression of the Wahhabi religion. In the first thirty years of his leadership he was continually at war with the neighbouring tribes. In 1208, he conquered Ahsa or according to Hafidh Wahba, "The army and the Bani Khalid army eliminated and got rid of the rulers of Ahsa, and by conquering Ahsa and Qudaif the Wahhabis reached the shores of the Persian Gulf."

Abdul-Aziz and the Sharif of Maccah

We said before that Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab sent messengers to Sharif Mas'ud to talk about the Wahhabi ideology and to get permission to go to Hajj. However Sharif ordered the messengers to be arrested and gave the ruling that they were *kafir* and did not give permission for them to come to Hajj.

The Wahhabis were deprived of the right to go to Hajj until Sharif Mas'ud died (in 1165). After Sharif Mas'ud his brother Sharif Musa'id bin Sa'id was in charge of ruling Maccah. The Wahhabis also sent messengers to him to get permission to go to Hajj but he also, like his brother, refused to give them permission. Musa'id died in 1184 and his brother Ahmad took his place. The Prince of Dir'iyyah sent a group of Wahhabi scholars to him. Sharif ordered the scholars of Maccah to test the Wahhabi scholars. The scholars of Maccah found they were *kafirs* and Sharif did not give them the permission to go to Hajj. In 1186, Sharif Musa'id's son, who was called Sharif Surur, took the reins of the government from his uncle.[2] Surur gave the Wahhabis permission to visit Maccah on the condition that they pay a fee, but the Wahhabis refused to pay the fee.[3] They had permission to come to Maccah on the condition of paying a fee until 1202. However, in 1202 Sharif Surur's successor Sharif Ghalib took this permission away from

1. *Dairatul Ma'arif Islami*, i.e. Islamic Encyclopaedia, vol. 1, p. 191.
2. *Al-Durar al-Saniyyah*, p. 44.
3. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 124.

them and got ready to go to war with Abdul-Aziz, who was the Wahhabi prince.

Abdul-Aziz, who was always thinking of occupying Maccah and was looking for an excuse to do so, immediately took an army to Maccah and a war started between him and Sharif Ghalib. This war lasted nine years and in that time fifteen important battles took place between the two sides but no one won.

The writer of the book *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyya* says, with regard to this matter, that "In 1205 Sharif Ghalib equipped an expensive army of up to ten thousand men, and they had more than twenty cannons with them, and the commander of the army was his brother. However, this army was not able to do anything."

The above writer has described the people of Najd's defence in an exaggerated way. For example he has stated, "Sharif Gahlib's great army, which was joined by a group of tribes from Hejaz, Shammar, Mudayyir and other people, could not conquer the castle of Bassam, which only had thirty people defending it. This army also did not have the power to conquer the village of Shu'ara which they besieged for one month, and which only had forty people inside it."[1]

In the end, in 1212 in a war which was well-known as Ghazwat Al-Kharma, Abdul-Aziz Sa'ud achieved victory against his most powerful enemy. However, according to Hafidh Wahba, "He used politics to make a peace treaty between them so that the Najd people could go to Hajj." It was for this reason that the Prince of Najd performed Hajj in 1214 and the year after it. This was the first time that a Wahhabi Prince performed the Hajj rites, although in 1213 a group of the people of Najd participated in the Hajj rites.

In any case, the peace treaty didn't last long and it was broken. Each of the two sides accused the other side of not respecting the conditions

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 52. Shawkani who was present at the time of the occurrence of these events points this out in his description of Sharif Ghalib and says: "If instead of going to war with the people of Najd, Sharif had done something else, it would have been better because when someone who does not have the power and ability to go to war with someone else goes to war, he will gain nothing but injuries and difficulties. *Al-Badr al-Tali'*, vol. 2, p. 5.

of the treaty. The general policy of the people of Najd was to spread *tawhid* (the meaning of *tawhid* that they believed in) in the Arabian Peninsula and to get rid of all their opponents.

For a few years everything was peaceful. In 1215 Abdul-Aziz and his son Sa'ud went along with many Najd men, women, children and tribes to Maccah with the intention of performing Hajj. However, they had not gone far when Abdul-Aziz felt slightly ill and he returned to Najd and his son Sa'ud performed the rites of Hajj. His son also had a meeting with Sharif Ghalib in Maccah.[1]

During this journey to Hajj the tribes of 'Asir, Tahama and Bani Harb joined Sa'ud and it seems this annoyed and worried Sharif Ghalib. In addition problems arose between Sharif Gahlib's people and those who were travelling with Sa'ud and yet again a war arose between the two sides which lasted a few years. Thirteen battles of this war occurred between the two sides. Wahhab's army was better than Sharif Ghalib's army in every way. In addition the Wahhabis gradually made Sharif's life very difficult and caused him many problems and gained the ability to conquer the city of Ta'if (a city near Maccah).

With regard to the occupation of Ta'if, Jamil Sidqi Zahawi says, "One of the most obscene things they did was to massacre the people. They did not stop at the young or the old. They would behead babies who were drinking milk from their mother's breasts. A group of people who were learning the Qur'an were all killed. When they saw no one was left in the houses they went to the shops and mosques and killed everyone there. They even killed a group of people who were praying.[2] They threw their books which consisted of some Qur'ans and copies of Sahih Bukhari and Muslim and other books to do with Hadith and *fiqh* in the streets and bazaar and they trampled them. This

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah,* vol. 1, p. 73.

2. According to Sayyid Ibrahim Rafa'ei the Wahhabis killed hundreds of Muslims when they conquered Ta'if. Among those who were killed were scholars such as Sayyid Abd Allah Zawawi Mufti Shafei Maccah, Shaykh Abd Allah Abu Al-Kheir (Mecca's judge), Shaykh Sulyamn Morad (Ta'if's judge), Sayyid Yusuf Zawawi, Shiekh Hasan Shaybi and Shaykh Ja'far Shaybi (Risalat Al-Awrag Al-Baghdadiyyah, p. 3.

incident took place in 1217."[1] They wanted to go to Maccah but because it was the days of Hajj and all the pilgrims would have fought against them, they waited until the month of Hajj finished and the pilgrims returned to their counties, and then they turned towards Maccah.[2]

The reply the scholars of Maccah gave to the letter written by the scholars of Najd

Shah Fadhl Rasul Qadiri (Hindi), who died in 1289 A.H., wrote the text of the letter the scholars of Najd composed after the massacre in Ta'if, in his thesis called *Seif Al-Jabbar*. This letter reached Maccah on the seventh of Muharram in 1221A.H. Qadiri has also mentioned the reply that the scholars of Maccah gave in return. He has also added some explanations concerning some of the matters in Persian. The scholars of Maccah gathered at the door of the Ka'bah after the Friday prayers to give the reply of the scholars of Najd and to study the letter. The head of the meeting asked Ahmad Yunis Baa'lawi to write down everything they said. What they said and the reply the scholars of Maccah gave are mentioned in the book *Seif Al-Jabbar* in 89 columns (every page has two columns). This section (*the 89 columns) is only related to the first section of the Najd letter, which is under the heading chapter on shirk, and the second part of the letter is called chapter on innovation.

Ahmad bin Yunis Baa'lawi who was the one that wrote down what the scholars of Maccah were saying, writes at the end of the section that: "After they finished looking at the first chapter, it was nearly the afternoon and prayer time and so when the prayers started, the scholars got up. Most of this letter is written by Shaykh 'Umar Abd Al-Rasul and 'Aqil bin Yahya Alawi and a part of it was written by Shaykh Abd Al-Malik and Husayn Maghribi."

When the scholars finished praying, they studied the second section of the letter (Baab Al-Bid'ah). Then suddenly those who had been oppressed and tormented in Ta'if entered Masjid Al-Haram and the people found out what had happened to them. It became known

1. *Al-Fajr Al-Sadiq*, p. 22.
2. *Fitnat Al-Wahhabiyyah,* p. 71.

everywhere that the people of Najd would come to the Haram[1] of Maccah and they would kill.

The people of Maccah became very afraid and disturbed because of what they had found out and it was as if the Day of Judgement had arrived. The scholars gathered around the pulpits of Masjid Al-Haram, and Abu Hamid Khatib went on the pulpit and read out the letter of the Nejds and the reply of the scholars which was written in rejection to it.

Then he said to the scholars, judges and those who give out Fatwas, "You have heard what the Nejds say and you have found out what their beliefs are, what do you think about them?"

All the scholars, judges and muftis of the four legal schools of thought from Maccah and other Islamic countries who had come to perform the Hajj rites and were sitting there waiting to enter the Ka'bah, ruled that the Wahhabis were *kafirs*. They also ruled that it was obligatory for the Prince of Maccah to face them and fight with them as soon as possible, and that it was obligatory for the Muslims to help him and join him. They added that whoever violates this ruling without an excuse is a sinner, whoever fights against them is a soldier of holy war, and whoever is killed by the Wahhabis is a martyr.

There was a general agreement with regard to this ruling and so they wrote down the above *fatwa* and everyone stamped their own seal on it. After the *maghrib* prayers the scholars went to the Sharif of Maccah and everyone agreed to go to war. It was agreed that they would go out of the boundaries of the Haram the morning of the next day and fight with the people of Najd.[2]

However, Sharif Ghalib could not continue to stay in Maccah so he placed his brother, Abd Al-Mu'in, in Maccah and he fled to the port of Jeddah. Abd Al-Mu'in made an agreement with Sa'ud and asked to be provided security and safety in a letter he sent to Sa'ud. In his letter Abd Al-Mu'in also wrote that the people of Maccah are prepared to

1. Sacred territory/sanctuary of Maccah.
2. *Seif Al-Jabbar*, p. 2 onwards and the last part in column 88 till 91. On each of the four sides of Maccah there is a specified distance which is called the boundaries of the Haram. In these boundaries, war, killing and some other issues are prohibited.

follow Sa‘ud and he is prepared to be appointed the governor of Maccah by Sa‘ud.

The people sent by Sharif were the scholars and the famous people of Maccah. They met Sa‘ud in an area called Wadi Al-Sail (between Maccah and Ta’if) and the necessary negotiations took place. Sa‘ud accepted Sharif Abd Al-Mu’in’s suggestion and in a letter which we will quote later, he invited the people of Maccah to accept the religion of God and the Prophet (s), and he appointed Abd Al-Mu’in as the ruler of the city of Maccah. The people sent by Sharif returned to the city with Sa‘ud’s letter. Sa‘ud’s letter was read out to the people, by the Mufti of Maccah, on Friday the seventh of Muharram 1218.

The text of the letter is as follows:

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ـ من سعود بن عبد العزيز إلى كافة أهل مكة والعلماء والأغوات وقاضي السلطان السلام على من اتبع الهدى اما بعد ـ فانتم جيران الله وسكان حرمه آمنون بأمنه إنّما ندعوكم لدين الله و رسوله ﴿قل يا أهل الكتاب تعالوا الى كلمة سواء بيننا و بينكم ان لا نعبد الا الله و لا نشرك به شيئاً و لا يتخذ بعضنا بعضاً أرباباً من دون الله فإن تولوا فقولوا اشهدوا بأنّا مسلمون .

فانتم فى وجه الله و وجه امير المسلمين سعود بن عبد العزيز و اميركم عبد المعين بن مساعد فاسمعوا له و اطيعوا ما اطاع الله و السلام :

"In the name of God the Beneficent the Merciful, this letter is by Sa‘ud the son of Abdul-Aziz and is addressed to all the people of Maccah and the eunuchs of Maccah and to the judge appointed by the Ottoman sultan.

Greetings be to the person who follows the guidance of God and the Prophet. Yet, after thanking God and sending greetings to the Prophet verily, we invite you who are the neighbours of God and are those who take refuge in Him and are the residents in His Haram and are safe due to God’s protection, to the religion of God and the Prophet."

Sa‘ud quotes a verse from the Qur’an and addresses the people of Maccah and its subject-matter is the following: "Oh people of the

book (this means those who have had a heavenly book sent to them) come and turn to the words which we and you believe in, which is to not worship anyone other than the one God and not to place anyone or anything as His partner, and for some of us not to place others as our masters and lords apart from God. If you turn away from these beliefs and words say that you are witnesses to the fact that we are Muslims." Sa'ud then says: "Take measures in the way of God and in the way of Sa'ud, who is the Prince of the Muslims. Your Prince is Abd Al-Mu'in bin Musa'id. Listen to him and obey him in everything as long as he obeys God."

On the eighth of Muharram Sa'ud entered Maccah even though it was a prohibited month. After circulating the Ka'bah and doing *sa'y*[1] he went to Sharif's garden. After that he went to Masjid Al-Haram and he read a speech. In his speech he invited the people to believe in *tawhid*. In another gathering he ordered the people to destroy the domes which had been built over the graves.[2]

Jabarti says, "Many of the people of Maccah fled with the pilgrims before the arrival of the Wahhabis. The people at that time had beliefs which were different from the Wahhabis and they believed the Wahhabis were outsiders and unbelievers. Some others said that the people believed otherwise.

"The Wahhabi Prince wrote a letter to Yemen's Amir Al-Hajj[3] and he sent him papers, which stated his beliefs. In this letter, he severely attacked the people who turn to the dead ones and ask them to grant their needs, and those who do *nathr* and offer sacrifices for the dead, and those who do *estighathah* to the dead. He has also strongly denied and abjured the honouring of the graves of Prophets and Awliyya' Allah, the building of domes over graves, lighting lights near graves, placing a servant for the graves, and such matters. He also says that destroying the domes over graves is obligatory and that whoever does not accept our ideology we will go to war with him."[4]

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1. Running between the two mountains of Safa and Marwa and Sa'y which is one of the rites of Hajj.
2. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 131 onwards.
3. i.e. Prince of the pilgrims, the leader and guide of the group of people who go to pilgrimage.
4. *Al-Mukhtar min Tarikh Al-Jabarti*, p. 533.

Zayni Dahlan has said, "The Wahhabis stayed in Maccah for fourteen days and in that time they made the people ask for forgiveness and (according to their own opinion) renew their religion. They also forbade the people from doing things which they believed were *shirk*, such as *tawassul* and *ziyarah* of graves"[1]

On the morning of the ninth day, the Wahhabis were accompanied by a large group of people who all had spades and together they proceeded to destroy the graves and domes. They first destroyed the domes in the Mu'alla[2] cemetery where there were many domes. They then destroyed the dome over the area of the birthplace of the Prophet (s), the dome on top of an area which was believed to be the birthplace of Ali ('a) and Abu Bakr, the dome of Khadija, the dome over the Zam Zam well, and the domes around the Ka'bah. They also destroyed all the buildings that were taller than the Ka'bah.

After that they occupied all the places which had historical relics of pious people and demolished all the relics. While the Wahhabis were destroying the graves and domes they would recite poetical verses and they would hit on a drum and sing and would go too far in using abusive language and indecent words, which were said to the buildings over the graves. After three days they wiped out all the relics.[3]

Ibn Bishr says, "Sa'ud stayed for more than twenty days in Maccah. His companions (or the Muslims, according to Ibn Bishr) would go from the early hours of the morning and destroy all the buildings and domes over graves. They did this for more than ten days until they were all levelled with the ground. They believed that by doing this they were seeking closeness to God."[4]

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1. *Fitnat Al-Wahhabiyyah*, p. 72.
2. The Mu'alla cemetery is the oldest cemetery in Maccah which is now situated in the middle of the city of Maccah. A wide road has divided it into two halves. The first half is called the Mu'alla cemetery and the second half is called Abu Talib's cemetery.
3. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 22-23. –'Umar Ridha Kahhala says, "In Maccah there were many historic sites such as the birthplace of the Prophet (s), the house of Khadija, the house of Abu Bakr and others. They ruined these remnants along with the domes and other graves." *Joghrafiyya Shibh Jazirat Al-Arab*, p. 161.
4. *Unwan Al-Majd fi Tarikh Najd*, vol. 1, p. 124.

Other measures Sa'ud took in Maccah and the return of Sharif Ghalib

Prince Sa'ud gave another order after ordering for the graves to be ruined. This order was that except for the *'isha* prayers the followers of the four legal schools do not have the right to hold separate congregational prayers at one time in Masjid Al-Haram. Rather the morning prayers will be allocated to the Shafi'i sect, the noon prayers to the Maliki sect, each one of the afternoon and after sunset Prayers to the Hanafi and Hanbali sects and the Friday prayers will be allocated to the Mufti of Maccah.[1]

He also ordered Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's book called *Kashf Al-Shubuhat* to be taught in Masjid Al-Haram and that everyone, the nobles and the common people alike, must attend these lessons.

Sa'ud stayed for twenty four days in Maccah. He then went to Jeddah so that he could capture Sharif Ghalib and he besieged Jeddah. However, because Jeddah had a firm and solid wall around it and had powerful defence facilities he could not capture Sharif Ghalib and so he returned to Najd.

Sharif Ghalib used Sa'ud's absence to return to Maccah and to occupy Maccah without any trouble and obstruction from his brother Abd Al-Mu'in.[2] However, the Wahhabis were not in any way prepared to let Maccah go and allow Sharif Ghalib to rule in Maccah like he did in the past, and so a war started between them that lasted till the month of Dhil Qa'dah 1220. Nevertheless, peace was made in this time (meaning that the Wahhabis could enter Maccah for Hajj) but after performing their Hajj rites they had to return to their own countries.

Sharif Ghalib was tired of fighting with Najd. On the one hand, he did not consider himself to have the strength to fight and, on the other hand, he really wanted to keep whatever power he had. Therefore, he saw no other choice but to pretend he believed in Wahhabism and to act according to their liking. As said by Salah Al-Din Mukhtar: "With

1. In the past, every one of the four schools of thought would hold congregational prayers at each of the four pillars of the Ka'bah separately.
2. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, a summary of p. 131-132.

the acceptance of God and the Prophet (s) he swore allegiance to Sa'ud."[1]

Sharif Ghalib ordered the shrines that the Wahhabis had not ruined to be ruined. He did not leave any shrines in Maccah and Jeddah in order to better prove his sincerity in accepting Wahhabism. Even with all that he had done, he still did some things that made Sa'ud suspicious about his sincerity.

One of the things that Sa'ud did in those days was to take money from merchants on the basis that he was taking a tithe[2], and when he was faced with objections he would say, "These merchants are *mushrik* (i.e. they are not Wahhabis and so they are *mushrik*), and therefore I take this money from *mushriks* not monotheist Muslims."[3]

The occupation of Medinah

In the same year, 1220, Sa'ud conquered the city of Medinah. He took all the expensive things that were in the Haram of the Prophet (s), and he threw out the judges of Maccah and Medinah who had been appointed by the Ottomans.[4]

According to the writings of Salah Al-Din Mukhtar, when the people and nobles of Medinah found out that Ghalib intended to swear allegiance to Sa'ud, they made a proposal to Sa'ud suggesting that he accept the allegiance of the people of Medinah, which was based on the acceptance of the Prophet's (s) and God's religion and obeying his command. After giving this proposal, the people of Medinah proceeded to destroy the domes and buildings built over the graves.[5]

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1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 91.
2. One tenth of annual produce or earnings, formerly taken as tax for the support of the mosque and Imam.
3. *Al-Mukhtar min Tarikh Al-Jabarti*, p. 66. –Jabarti has given an explanation of the things Sharif Ghalib did and what factors caused him to be forced to accept the Wahhabi religion. *Tarikh Jabarti*, vol. 3, p. 116.
4. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyyah, vol.* 1, p. 91.
5. Ibid, vol. 1, p. 92. –While explaining the events that took place in 1220, Jabarti says, "The Wahhabis besieged Medina for nearly one and a half years. They stopped provisions entering the city and so the people, having no alternative, surrendered and the Wahhabis occupied Medina. They the Wahhabis forbade the smoking of tobacco and apart from the dome on the Prophet's (s) grave they destroyed all the domes over the graves". *Tarikh Jabarti*, vol. 3, p. 91.

Therefore, the Wahhabis formed a large government that consisted of Najd and Hejaz. They threw out the Ottoman officials and they removed the name of Sultan Uthmani from the speeches. However, they were still not satisfied and so they carried on with their encroachment on Iraq, especially the two cities of Karbala and Najaf. Their encroachment on Iraq had started a few years before.

The Wahhabi attack on Karbala and Najaf

From the beginning of the formation of the government of Al Sa'ud, there were sometimes disputes and conflicts between this government and Iraq, and the Wahhabis would attack the cities and different areas of Iraq. Iraq at that time was one of Sultan Uthmani's possessions. However, the attacks on Najaf and Karbala were not the same as the attacks they made on other areas of Iraq. It was clear from the manner of their attacks and the method they used to massacre people and insult the holy mausoleum of Imam Husayn ('a) that the real motive behind these actions was due to their religious beliefs along with the strong bigotry they had. This caused them to make the most brutal attacks to these two cities during a period of ten years.

It was said before that Ibn Taymiyyah and his followers opposed and were rebellious against the Shi'ah mostly because they believed that the Shi'ah were pilgrims and worshippers of graves. Without knowing the truth of the matter they thought that the Shi'ah's worshipped the graves of their great ones, and instead of going to Hajj in Maccah they go on pilgrimage to the graves and other such matters.

In any case, taking into account that the two cities of Najaf and Karbala were and are respected by the Shi'ah and are one of the greatest visiting places of the Shi'ah, and that the Shi'ah's visiting places have height buildings and height domes with many valuables and endowments inside them, and that thousands of people from far and near go there to do *ziyarah*, and that, as it said before, the Wahhabis are strongly prejudiced towards these matters because of their lack of awareness and because of their beliefs, it is natural that they were looking for a pretext to carry out what they intended to do.

According to the Islamic Encyclopaedia, an injustice the Shi'ah tribe of Khaza'il had committed towards one of the tribes of Najd was used as an excuse for the Wahhabi attack on Najaf and Karbala.[1]

The Wahhabi attacks on Karbala and Najaf in 1216 A.H. started at the time when the aforementioned Abdul-Aziz started ruling and these attacks continued until after Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz became ruler after 1225.

Wahhabi and non-Wahhabi writers have given accounts of these attacks. It has also been mentioned in the literary works of Iranian writers. Some of the scholars of Najaf, who had witnessed the incidents themselves and were even among the defenders of the city, mentioned what they saw or heard briefly in their writings where it was related to their writings. Here we will mention a summary of all the aforesaid literary works:

The attack on Karbala

Salah Al-Din Mukhtar is a Wahhabi writer who wrote the following: "In 1216, Prince Sa'ud (son of Abdul-Aziz), who was the head of many of the Najd forces, and who was the head of the tribes, the south, Hejaz, Tahama and other areas, moved towards Iraq. In the month of Dhil Qa'dah he reached Karbala and he besieged it. This army ruined the rampart of the city of Karbala and entered the city by force. They killed most of the people in streets, bazaars and houses and they left the city close to noon, having taken a lot of money, property and booty. They gathered around a river called Abyadh. There Sa'ud took a fifth of the money and properties and as for the rest he gave the infantry men one share and the horsemen two shares."[2]

The above writer describes the same event a few pages later in the following way: "Prince Abdul-Aziz Muhammad bin Sa'ud sent a large army to Iraq with his son Sa'ud as its commander." A group within this army attacked Karbala in the month of Dhil Qa'dah in 1216.

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1. Volume 1, p. 192. –The story of the Arabs of Khaza'il will be mentioned when we discuss the Wahhabi's attack on Najaf and it seems that it has no relation to their attack on Karbala. Note: the Wahhabis attacked Najaf in 1214 but the Arabs of Khaza'il fought against and stopped them and killed three hundred of their men.
2. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyyah, vol.* 1, p. 73.

After Salah Al-Din Mukhtar quotes Ibn Bishr's[1] words he said, "Prince Sa'ud attacked, killed and plundered a city. This city is a city which the Shi'ah believe has to be honoured and respected."[2]

Shaykh 'Uthman bin Bishr was a Najd historian and describes the aforesaid event in the following way: "In the month of Dhil Qa'dah in 1216, they made a move to Husayn's ('a) Karbala with the intention of attacking it with a large army. This army consisted of all the Najd urbans and Bedouins from the south, Hejaz, Tahama and other areas. When they reached Karbala they camped outside the city."

The army mentioned above ruined the city wall and entered the city of Karbala by force. They killed most of the people in the bazaars and houses. They destroyed the dome over the grave of Imam Husayn and they took the chest placed on top of the grave which was encrusted with emerald, ruby and other jewels. They plundered money, armour, clothing, carpets, gold, silver, valuable Qur'ans and anything else they found from the city. They left the city when it was nearly midday, having killed two thousand people.[3]

The late Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Jawad 'Amili is one of the great Shi'ah scholars who lived in Najaf. He was a witness to the Wahhabi attack on Najaf and he has said the following as part of his discussion of the coming into existence of the Wahhabi religion: "In 1216 they plundered the site[4] of Husayn ('a) and killed men and children. They took the people's money, and they went too excess in disrespecting the threshold (*of the door of Imam Husayn's Haram[5]) and they destroyed it and removed it completely."[6]

All the Shi'ah writers believe that the massacre of the people of Karbala was on the eighteenth of Dhil Hijja (on Eid Al-Ghadir[7]). For

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1. A Wahhabi historian and writer in the thirteenth century A.H.
2. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyyah, vol.* 1, p. 77 and78. –The last sentence points out why Abdul-Aziz, who was Sa'ud's father, was killed. We shall explain in more detail later.
3. *'Unwan Al-Majd, fi Tarikh Najd*, vol. 1, p. 121-122.
4. A place where a martyr is buried.
5. Sacred area where people pray and read *dua'* –The Haram mentioned here is the sacred area around Imam Husayn's grave.
6. *Miftah Al-Karaama*, the end of the fifth vol., p. 512), Egypt edition.
7. Festival on 18th of Dhil Hijja celebrating the day when the Prophet (s) named Imam Ali as his successor.

example the writer of *Rowdhat Al-Jannaat* says while giving an account of the life of Mowli Abd Al-Samad Hamadani Hai'ri that: "On Wednesday the eighteenth of Dhil Hijja, which was Eid Al-Ghadir, after the Wahhabis dragged the aforesaid scholar out of his house using trickery and deceit, he was martyred by them."[1]

However, the explanation of the incident by Doctor Abd Al-Jawad Kilid Dar, who is from the people of Karbala, as described in his book *Tarikh Karbala wa Ha'ir Husayn* , and the descriptions he has quoted from the book *Tarikh Karbala Mua'lla*[2], are as follows: "In 1216 Prince Sa'ud Wahhabi equipped an army consisting of twenty thousand soldiers and he attacked Karbala. In those days Karbala had the utmost greatness and fame, and Iranian, Turkish and Arab visitors would visit it. After besieging the city, Sa'ud finally entered the city and mercilessly killed the defenders and residents. The fence around the city was made of the wood and the branches of date trees, which were arranged behind walls made of clay."

The Wahhabi army caused such public disgrace, that it is indescribable. It is said that in one night they killed twenty thousand people.[3]

After Prince Sa'ud's war tasks and after a rest, he turned towards the Haram's treasury. These treasuries were filled with lots of money and valuable objects. Whatever he found he took. They say that he opened the door of a treasury that had many coins gathered inside it. Some of the things he seized were things such as a very large shining jewel, twenty swords which were all decorated with gold and encrusted with expensive stones and jewels, gold dishes, silver, firooza[4], diamonds and other expensive treasures that were there. Four hundred cashmere shawls, two thousand gold swords, and a large amount of guns and weapons were all plundered.

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1. *Rowdhat Al-Jannat*, vol. 4, p. 198.
2. Page 20, 22.
3. The writer of the book *Nuzhatul Gharra* quotes from Shaykh Khadhr Thani that: "The Wahhabis broke and burnt the wooden chest on top of the grave of Habib Ibn Mudhahir and made coffee with it on the holy Haram's porch which is facing the Qiblah. They wanted to break the chest on top of the holy grave of Husayn but because it had a grid shaped iron on it they could not break it, p. 52.
4. Turquoise.

After this incident, Karbala was in such a state that the poets wrote elegies about it. The people who had stayed alive gradually returned to their city and put an effort into fixing some of the ruined buildings.

According to what Lonkrik has written in his history book all the capital cities of the Islamic countries shook severely because of this incident.[1]

Dr. Abd Al-Jawad Kilid Dar quotes the following from Lonkrik, in a different section of his book: "At sunset on the second of Nisan[2] 1801 A.D, when most of the residents of Karbala had gone to Najaf to do *ziyarah*, the news that the Wahhabis were near the city of Karbala spread. The residents that were left in the city hastily closed the gates of the city. It was estimated that the Wahhabis had around six hundred infantrymen and four hundred horsemen. The Wahhabis stopped near the city and put up their tents and divided their provisions into three parts. Then in the area which was called Baab Al-Mukhayyam (i.e. gates of the camp), they made a hole in the rampart of the city and from that hole they entered a house. From the house they attacked the nearest gates and opened them by force and entered the city.

The people ran away aimlessly and frightened with no destination to go to. The Wahhabis then went to the holy chambers and started destroying them. They plundered all the valuable objects, expensive *nathr* and presents that the Iranian rulers and kings had sent and offered. They also pulled off the jewels which were on the walls and the gold on the ceilings. They took the expensive candlesticks and valuable lanterns. Doors which had been encrusted with jewels and other such things that were found were all removed.

In addition, they killed nearly fifty people near the chamber and five hundred people outside the chamber in the courtyard. Whoever they passed they killed without any mercy or compassion. They did not have mercy on old or young. Some have estimated that one thousand people were killed and others have estimated five times this number were killed."[3]

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1. *Tarikh Karbala wa Ha'ir Husayn* ('a), p. 174.
2. March-April.
3. *Tarikh Karbala wa Ha'ir Husayn* , p. 172.

Sayyid Abd Al-Razzaq has quoted the following: "In 1216 a group of Wahhabis, which consisted of around six hundred camel riders and four hundred horsemen, attacked Karbala. This attack took place at a time when most of the people of Karbala had gone to Najaf.

The invaders destroyed the pillars of the courtyards of the shrines of Imam Husayn ('a) and his brother Abbas ('a) with difficulty. They plundered whatever they found in these two Harams. They took all the valuable and expensive objects. They also took all the jewels, blackwood, large mirrors and expensive gifts which had been given by the Iranian ministers, princes and kings. They plundered whatever was on the walls. They also plundered the gold on the ceilings, the expensive carpets and candlesticks, the valuable things hanging from the ceilings, the doors encrusted with jewels and other such things."[1]

One notices that the number of the Wahhabis soldiers present and the number that were killed differ greatly in different quotations.

Taking into account what the Wahhabi writers have written (which we mentioned parts of before) and other documents and writings, it seems that estimating that there were around twenty thousand invaders and around five hundred killed is more accurate.

Husayn's ('a) treasury

Hajj Zeyn Al-'Abidin Shirvani is approximately Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's contemporary. He lived in Karbala for many years and the Wahhabi attack on Karbala took place in his time. He says in his book *Hada'iq Al-Siyyaha* when describing the Wahhabi attack on Karbala, "The oppressor plundered gold, ornaments (such as lanterns), gold and silver dishes, jewels and whatever he saw and managed to put his hands on. Only that which was transported to Kadhimain before his arrival remained.

After this incident, Mir 'Alim, who was a highly ranked Prince form Deccan, built a rampart around the city of Karbala and he made its fort strong by building it with brick and plaster. Agha Muhammad Khan who was the sovereign of Iran built the enlightened mausoleum of the

1. *Al-Iraq Gadiman wa Hadithan*, p. 127.

Imam and made its dome from gold before the Wahhabi incident (*i.e. attack)."[1]

We will mention later on when describing the Wahhabi attack on Najaf that when the scholars and defenders of the city of Najaf found out that the Wahhabis planned to attack the city they transported whatever was in Imam Ali's (‘a) treasury to Kadhimain.

However, with regard to the transportation of Husayn's treasury to Kadhimain apart from what Sheeruni has quoted, no other account has been found by the author. All the writers have written that the Karbala treasury was plundered (which we pointed out when describing the Wahhabi attack on Karbala), and so this must be correct because the people of Karbala did not foresee a Wahhabi attack and they were completely taken by surprise.

What we have understood is that many young and skilled people of Karbala had gone to Najaf because of Eid Al-Ghadir one or two days before the attack of the Wahhabi army. If they had known it was possible for such an attack to take place they would have undoubtedly not left their city without defence. They would not have left their women, children and elderly in the hands of the enemy.

Obviously all that was in the treasury would have been transported to Kadhimain if the people of the city had anticipated or foreseen an attack by their enemy.[2]

The way the Ottomans view the Wahhabi attack on Karbala

Shaykh Rasul Karkukli was an Ottoman writer who wrote a book in the first half of the thirteenth century that states the events and incidents that took place in Iraq, Iran and the Ottoman Empire from 1132 A.H. until 1237 A.H. Shaykh Rasul Karkukli wrote his book in Turkish. Another writer called Musa Kadhim Nawris translated the above book which is called *Dawhat Al-Wuzara*, to Arabic.

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1. *Hada'iq Al-Siyaha*, p. 427.
2. Another reason which suggests that everything in Husayn's (‘a) treasury was plundered is that a man called Shaykh Khidhr has seen some of the things such as a big Qur'an written with a very beautiful handwriting and border stones worked on with gold and a sword encrusted with jewels which belonged to the treasury of Imam Husayn (‘a) with the plunderers.

The events and incidents mentioned in *Dawhat Al-Wuzara* have great importance because they took place at the time of the author and it is also possible that the author witnessed many of the incidents.

One of the incidents that has been mentioned in detail and with precision in Shaykh Rasul Karkukli's book is the story of the Wahhabi attack on Iraq. In his book he also talks about the tactics the governors of Baghdad used to stop the Wahhabis and about the military expedition of the Iraqi rulers to Najd and other similar matters. A summary of the events that are related to the attack of the Wahhabis on Karbala are mentioned below:

After the events that took place in 1214, and after the conflict between the Khaza'il tribe and the Wahhabis in Najaf Al-Ashraf and the death of around three hundred Wahhabis, the Sa'udi Prince wrote a letter to the people in charge in Iraq. In that letter he said that until the blood money of those who had died was not paid, the peace that existed between Iraq and Najd would be annulled and void.[1]

So that the peace treaty would stay in effect the governor of Iraq, Sulayman Pasha, ordered one of his men who was going to Hajj, Abdul-Aziz Beik Shawi, to go to the Wahhabi Prince after finishing his Hajj rites and change his mind about breaking the peace treaty.

Abdul-Aziz Beik obeyed the orders of the governor and had negotiations with Prince Abdul-Aziz Sa'udi. However, the negotiations were not successful. In the end the Wahhabi Prince suggested that in the place of giving the blood money of the killed Wahhabis, they must give permission for the Najd tribes to let their flocks graze in Shamiyyah areas between Anna and Basrah. He then said that if this permission were not given, he could not avoid breaking the peace treaty.

When Abdul-Aziz Shawi lost hope in the ability to convince Abdul-Aziz Wahhabi, he sent a messenger to the governor. Using the

1. In the year 1213 Ali Pasha attacked Najd by order of the governor of Baghdad and after the incidents that took place, which are mentioned in detail in *Dawhat Al-Wuzara*, p. 204 onwards), a peace treaty was made between Sa'ud the son of Abdul-Aziz and Ali Pasha. One of the articles of the peace treaty was that the Wahhabis could not attack the pilgrims who come from Iraq and they must refrain from attacking Iraq. Abdul-Aziz mentions this peace treaty in his letter.

messenger he informed the governor of what had happened and added that the Wahhabis were travelling towards Iraq to take revenge for their killed ones.

The minister (governor) of Baghdad formulated the necessary tactics and plans to stop the Wahhabi army but there was no news of the Wahhabi army's arrival.

In the month of Dhil Qa'dah 1216 cholera spread in Baghdad. It was gradually transmitted to the areas around the city too. The minister fled to the city of Khalis to avoid getting the disease. It was then that Shaykh Mahmud, the head of the Muntafiq tribe, informed the minister that Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz was moving towards Iraq with a large group of Wahhabis.

The governor ordered Ali Pasha to stop the Wahhabis and not let them plunder the people's properties and money. Ali Pasha went to the Dowra area so the forces that were required could join him. Some tribes also joined him.

At the same time when Ali Pasha was getting ready to stop and fight with the Wahhabi forces, news came that they had attacked Karbala and had killed and plundered and that around one thousand people had been killed. Ali Pasha sent Muhammad Beik Shawi to the minister so that he could inform the minister of the incident and he himself hurriedly moved towards Karbala with the hope that he could win the attackers and take the revenge of those that were killed and free the city. However, Ali Pasha was still in the city of Hilla when they gave him the news that after killing and plundering the Wahhabis travelled towards the Akhaidhar region in the afternoon. For some reasons Ali Pasha was forced to stay in Hilla since there was no reason for him to go to Karbala now that the Wahhabis had left. In any event, just in case he sent some forces to Karbala.

They emptied Najaf's treasury and sent what was inside it to Baghdad and put it in the treasury of Imam Musa Kadhim ('a) because they were afraid of a Wahhabi attack. The person in charge of transporting the aforesaid treasures was Hajj Muhammad Sa'id Baik. They

informed the government of Iran of this news and they informed them of the tactics they used to fight against the Wahhabis.[1]

The reasons for the victory of the Wahhabis in Karbala

It will be mentioned later on that the Wahhabis also attacked Najaf and they tried very hard to conquer it but weren't able to do so. However, they conquered the city of Karbala with ease and did whatever they wanted. According to the opinion of the author (writer of this book Ali Asghar Faqihi the reasons for this are the following matters:

1- Umar Agha, who was the ruler of the city of Karbala, was appointed by the governor of Baghdad, Sulayman Pasha. Sulayman Pasha was appointed by the Ottoman sultan. Umar Agha did nothing to protect the city and took no measures (and it is for this reason that he was questioned by Sulayman Pasha and was found responsible and was killed in the end).[2]

2- Karbala's rampart and tower were not strong and there weren't enough people to defend it.[3]

3- What was most important of all was that the men and young ones had all gone to Najaf because of the occasion of Eid Al-Ghadir and there was no one to defend the city and to stand against the attackers. The only people left in the city were women, old people and children, who couldn't do anything.

4- At the time of the attack, according to the writer of the book *Misbah Al-Sa'ada*, the surrounding Shi'ah tribes such as, the Kazail tribe, the Al Ba'ij tribe and the Al Jash'am tribe, had problems with

1. *Dawhat Al-Wuzara*, a summary from p. 213 to 217.
2. In Mirza Abu Talib's itinerary (we will quote some of it later on), it has been written: "The governor, Umar Agha was of the same opinion and belief as them (the Wahhabis) because of his religious bias for Wahhabism. On the first attack they came inside the city and called out "اقتلوا المشركين" "Kill the polytheists and "اذبحوا الكافرين" "Slaughter the faithless". Umar Agha fled to a village and in the end he was punished by order of Sulyaman Pasha", p. 408.
3. Mirza Abu Talib who entered Karbala eleven months after the Wahhabi attack said: "There is a wall made of mud around Karbala which has little width and is not strong. The Wahhabis were able to make a hole in this wall and enter." *Travelogue*, p. 408.

each other and were too busy with the conflicts they had with each other. For this reason they did not try to prevent the Wahhabis from attacking.

In the next attack we see that the Wahhabis could not enter the city however much they tried. This was because the above factors didn't exist at the time of the next attack.

The other Wahhabi attacks on Karbala

It was previously mentioned that the Wahhabis attacked and plundered Karbala and the areas around it, from time to time. The first of these attacks was the attack in 1216 which we have described.

Salah Al-Din Mukhtar says the following about one of these attacks: "In the month of Jumada al-Ula in 1223, Prince Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz travelled to Iraq with large forces which he had collected from all the areas of Najd, Ahsa, Habub, the Duwasir desert, Beesha, Reena, Ta'if, Hejaz and Tahama. The first city they reached was Karbala; however, this time it had a strong and well-built tower and rampart. The people of Karbala built this impermeable tower and rampart after the previous Wahhabi attack and after the bitter and unpleasant consequences that were left behind.

The Wahhabi forces opened fire on the city but they couldn't do anything. The people of the city defended their city well with the forces and the reserves they had gathered for such a day. The commander of the Wahhabi army ordered his army to put the ladders that they had prepared for such an event on the rampart so that the soldiers could go up the wall. Even though they were close to entering the city in this way, the defence of the people of Karbala caused the Wahhabis to change their minds about keeping Karbala under siege and leave Karbala without having achieved anything."[1]

Ibn Bishr, who appears to be the person who Salah Al-Din Mukhtar quotes, recorded the above attack in 1222 and said: "Because of the shooting (the shooting done by those that were under siege) a large number (from Sa'ud's army) were killed and when Sa'ud realized how secure the city had become and how strong and great the tower and

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyyaa*, vol. 1, p. 97-98.

rampart were, he stopped his army from continuing to attack Karbala and moved from Karbala to other areas of Iraq." [1]

The late Allamah, Sayyid Muhammad Jawad 'Amili has also written at the end of the seventh volume of his book *Miftah Al-Karama* that: "This part of the book was finished by its author after midnight on the ninth of the blessed month of Ramadhan in 1225. (*It was written) When one was worried and anxious because the Arabs of 'Unayzah, who believed the saying of the outsider Wahhabis, had plundered the people who were coming back to their cities from doing the *ziyarah* of the middle of the month of Sha'ban in the areas around Najaf Al-Ashraf and Husayn's ('a) burial place. It is said that the number of those that were killed was one hundred and fifty and some have also said it was less than this."[2]

Abdullah Philby says, "What Sa'ud did in the attack on Karbala aroused not only the Shi'ahs but the whole world. It was an important point in time, which brought about the risings and revolts against the Wahhabis and it caused very bad consequences and problems for the Sa'udi government."[3]

The Wahhabi attack on Karbala according to Iranian sources

A few of the Iranian writers who lived at the time of the Wahhabi attack or near that time have recorded this incident in their literary works and because of the subject under discussion we quote parts of their writings and summarize others.[4]

The earliest Iranian writer that has written about the aforesaid incident in his book is Mirza Abu Talib Isfahani, who entered Karbala eleven months after the massacre of the people of Karbala and heard about this incident from the people. He says the following:

1. *'Unwan Al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 142.
2. *Miftah Al-Karama*, vol. 7, p. 653.
3. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 99.
4. Just as one may find mistakes in these writings one also finds important points and facts.

The Wahhabi incident in Karbala

A summary of the mentioned incident is that on the eighteenth of Dhil Hijja on the day of Eid Al-Ghadir Khum, when most of the reputable people of Karbala had gone to do the particular *ziyarah* in Najaf, approximately twenty five thousand Wahhabis, riding Arab horses and noble camels, entered the city of Karbala. As some of them had entered the city wearing the clothes of those who come to do *ziyarah* and because the governor, 'Umar Agha, had colluded with them, they were able to enter the city on the first attack and they called out - "اقتلوا المشركين" –"Kill the polytheists" and "اذبحوا الكافرين". –"Slaughter the faithless", 'Umar Agha fled to a village and in the end was killed by order of Ali Pasha.

After the killing and captivity, they wanted to pull off the ingots of gold on the dome and take them but because they were very hard and strong they couldn't, so they destroyed the grave inside the dome with axes and picks. When it was nearly night time they returned to their country fearlessly and for no apparent reason. More than five thousand people were killed and I did not count the injured, which included the Iranian prince Mirza Hasan, and Mirza Muhammad Tabib Laknahwi, Ali Taqi Lahuri with his brother Qanbar Ali and the servants. They took all useful materials and objects particularly gold and silver from the Imam and from the rest of the people living in the city and swept up everything with their plundering brooms.

In the holy courtyard the blood of those slaughtered was flowing and the cells of the courtyard were full of the remains of those killed. Apart from the Haram of Abbas and his dome, no one was saved from this calamity. The severity of this incident reached such extremes that when I entered the city after eleven months it was still so recent and fresh for the people that nothing else apart from it was talked about in the city. The narrators of the incident would cry when talking about the incident and listening to them would cause goose bumps.

Those who were killed in this incident were killed in a cowardly and dishonorable way. They were killed like sheep that have their hands and legs tied and who give themselves up to a merciless butcher.

After the Wahhabis left, the Arabs living around Karbala made a rumour and pretended that the Wahhabis had returned and then when

the people went to the gardens outside the city to defend themselves, the Arabs came inside the city in crowds and stole copper, rice, valuable objects and whatever the Wahhabis had left behind. Their plundering carried on throughout that night and the next day. Whoever went to the city that day got killed. However much I researched, I did not find out anything about the roots and branches of the Wahhabi sect and the lineage of its inventor (*i.e. Abd Al-Wahhab), because the people of this kingdom did not record anything about him due to their utter ignorance and due to the persuasion of the Ottoman princes. They did not find him and his teachings worthy of recording and protecting."[1]

Sayyid Abd Al-Latif Shushtari also mentions the Wahhabi attack on Karbala in the appendix of his book *Tuhfatul 'Alim*. He has also written down some of their beliefs, which we have quoted in section five. The only thing that should be mentioned here is that the book *Tuhfatul 'Alim* was written in 1216 which is the same year as the attack on Karbala and its appendix was written two years after that.

Another source is a letter written about the Wahhabis by the late Mirza Qumi. In the letter the attack on Karbala is also mentioned. This letter and the explanation Abd Al-Razzaq Donboli gives about the attack were mentioned in section five.

Reza Quli Khan Hidayat says the following with regard to this topic: "At the end of 1216, on the morning of the eighteenth day of the month of Dhil Hijja in Eid Ghadir Khum all of a sudden Sa'ud and his fellow travellers invaded the fort of the exalted Karbala and the burial place of the dear Imam Husayn bin Ali ('a). They conquered the city without anyone finding out. Many of the respected and admired people of that city went to worship in Najaf Al-Ashraf and the ill and weak but devout worshippers who prayed were left behind and were busy performing *salat*, reciting invocations and prayers in the holy Haram. The Wahhabis stole several thousand *tomans* off merchants and other people and half a million cash and goods from the residents of the holy Haram. They showed tremendous disrespect and atheism by killing seven thousand learned scholars and spiritual guides in nearly six hours. Among these seven thousand there were research

1. *Masir Talibi*, p. 408-409.

scholars and scholars who had intuitive faith and certainty in religion (**yaqin*). They pulled off whatever was on the heads of men and women and whatever they were wearing. The blood of the old and young believers who were astute and knowledgeable flowed like a flood. The bodies of the virtuous and pious God worshippers, full of cuts, were placed on top of each other. A great group of people who did not live at the time of the test and the life of Imam Husayn (‘a) and were not among the contemporaries and aids of the Master of Martyrs Husayn Ibn Ali (‘a), but who on this day had prayed in the holy mausoleum that they had been with him were killed around the Imam's mausoleum in the presence of the pure infallible Imam, and so were put in the same level as the recorded and mentioned martyrs."[1]

Mirza Muhammad Taqi Sipihr has written the following:

"Abdul-Aziz planned to invade the fort of Najaf Al-Ashraf, destroy the blessed dome, take the endowments of the holy *buq'a*[2], and kill the visitors of the Imam who he considered to be idol worshippers. Therefore, he gave an army to Sa‘ud and put him in charge of carrying out his plans. Sa‘ud travelled hastily with his people to Najaf Al-Ashraf and besieged the fort of Najaf Al-Ashraf and attacked it several times. However, he did not achieve what he had wanted to achieve and so he returned without reaching his aim. He then planned to go to Karbala. In the morning on the day of Eid Al-Ghadir all of a sudden he entered Karbala with twelve thousand of his brave men like a flood of calamities.

Therefore, he placed his first unsparing thorn in the residents of that city. He killed five thousand men and women and he broke the blessed chamber. He stole gold and silver, coloured jewels, expensive pearls, which had been taken from every country and conquest to the Haram and stored there. They brought down the lanterns made of silver and gold and took out the ingots of red gold from the holy porch, and they ruined buildings and relics as much as they could. After six hours they

1. *Rawdhat Al-Safaye Nasiri*, vol. 9, p. 381.
2. A building which houses a grave.

left the city and put the plundered objects on their camels and moved towards Dir'iyyah."[1]

What Sipihr has written here is different from most of the writers because, as we have said before, the Wahhabis first intended to go to Karbala then towards Najaf. Perhaps Sipihr is talking about the attack which was defeated by the Khaza'il tribe which we shall give an account of later on.

Wahhab's letter to Fath Ali Shah

According to Mirza Abu Talib's writings the sultan of Rome (the Ottoman king) and the Persian king (Fath Ali Shah) repeatedly heard of the incidents that took place in Karbala. None of them made any arrangements to prevent future attacks and so Abdul-Aziz, trying to be like the Prophet (s), became brave and sent letters to the kings of the world to invite them and call them to his religion. The translation of a letter which was written to the Iranian king is recorded as follows:

"اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم – بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد العزيز امير المسلمين إلى فتح علي شاه ملك العجم."

"After the Prophet (s) of God, Muhammad bin Abdullah, *shirk* and idol worship became widespread among the people. The people that live near the shrines of Najaf and Karbala fall to the ground, prostrate and say their wants and needs to graves made of stone and clay, which they have built themselves. Because this weak worshipper of God (*i.e. I) knows that our masters Ali and Husayn do not agree with committing such actions, I was prepared to put in effort and work to refine the true religion and, by the grace of Allah, I managed to clean the areas of Najd and most of the Arab lands from corruption. The servants of Karbala and Najaf would not agree to stop committing these prohibitions, so I deemed it advisable to confine their punishment to annihilation and execution. For this reason, I sent a large army of warriors to Karbala and, as was made clear, they were punished duly. If the Persian king believes in the same thing that they believed in, he must ask forgiveness because whoever insists on

1. *Nasikh Al-Tawarikh*, vol. 1, p. 119-120, from three vol.s related to Qajariyeh, the new edition.

committing blasphemy and *shirk* will be subjected to what happened to the residents of Karbala.

"و السلام على من هدى"[1]

1. *Masir Talibi* (Mirza Abu Talib's travelogue), p. 412. –It seems that representatives were sometimes sent from the Wahhabi princes to Fath Ali Shah's court. The representative of Abdullah bin Sa'ud, who was called Shaykh Muhammad, has been drawn in a picture which is of the people who were standing near the king in Salam Bagh Golestan in 1228 A.H. (Zanbil Hajj Farhad Mirza, p. 143).

Fath Ali Shah's answer to Sa'ud

Mr. Mudarrisi Tabataba'i quotes the Arabic text of Fath Ali Shah's letter which replies to Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz from the book *Ganjinaya Nashat*, and we will mention it here word for word:

"تبارك الذى بيده الملك وهو على كل شيء قدير وبعد فقد أتانا منك كتاباً مصدق لساناً عربياً تضوح (ظ توضح) منه عرف المعارف منتشراً ومطوياً و العجب ثم العجب إنّك دعوتنا الى التوحيد ونفي التشريك عن الله الحميد المجيد ونحن بين يديه مفطورون عليه نحدث به قديماً قرآن هذا صراطي مستقيماً، نعم و جدوا أوليائنا كتابك دليلاً على إنّك قد أخذت فى هذا الطريق سبيلاً إذاً لاتخذوك خليلاً ولا تجد لسنتنا تحويلا، و المؤمنون بعضهم اولياء بعض و عزّ من قال: وربطنا على قلوبهم إذ قاموا فقالوا ربّنا رب السموات و الارض... وقد ذكرتم إنّكم ترسلون عالماً منكم إلينا لنطلع عليكم وتطلعوا على ما لدينا ليكون لكم ما لنا وعليكم ما علينا فارسلوا وعجّلوا فيه فإنما المعروض على حضرتنا من مذهبكم غير ما تكتبون والناس من عندهم يقولون ويسمعون وان يتبعون إلا الظن وان هم إلا يخرصون . واستعجلوا حتى ينكشف من امركم الحجاب ويرفع الارتياب وان كان الأمر كذا، فهذا ايفاق المسلمين وكان حقاً علينا نصر المؤمنين، وأمددناكم بأموال وبنين وموقعين على شبل هزير الخلافة ومن له على سواحل عمان قريرة و شرافة، حسين على ميرزا ان يعاملكم بالمودة سراً وجهراً و يمدكم بما تستمدونه براً و بحراً فإن الله سخّر لنا الامصار و دير لنا البحار وهو الذي يسيركم فى البر والبحر انه على ما يشاء قدير ونحمد الله على ما هدانا و نسلم على النبي البشير النذير"

Appendix number 4, the eleventh year of the historic studies with the heading ***'The relations of Iran with the independent government of Najd'***, p. 113.

A summary of the translation of this letter, which has some Qur'anic verses mentioned in it, is as follows:

A letter from you has reached us. How surprising it is that you invite us to believe in *tawhid* and to reject *shirk* when our nature is based on *tawhid* and it is a long time that we believe in it. Indeed this is our straight path. You mentioned in your letter that you will send one of your scholars to us so that we can become aware of what you believe in, and you can become aware of what we believe in. Send him and make haste in sending him, because what they have informed us of your sect is different from what you have written. So make haste so that the curtains can be removed from your beliefs (*i.e. the truth can be unveiled) and all doubt and fear can be eliminated, and we will order Husayn Ali Mirza, the lion's whelp (*i.e. son)

Measures taken by Fath Ali Shah

Mirza Abd Al-Razzaq says, "After this bad incident, Khedive Bahram Intiqam (Fath Ali Shah) sent Isma'il Baik Bayat Ghulam to Baghdad and wrote a letter to Sulayman Pasha (the governor of Baghdad appointed by the Ottomans) saying, "If the Ottoman government cannot fight against and eliminate these wrong beliefs, tell us so that with the help of God a solution can easily be found to push away the corrupt aspects of the Wahhabi tribe until they are still weak." Sulayman Pasha answered, "According to the ruling of the Ottoman government the means needed to eradicate the articles of corruption of that wayward tribe have been put in place, are ready in every way, and no trace of them will be left in this world. Also, there will be no need to trouble the army of Iran apart from repairing the holy *rawdha*. Finally, changing the squandered materials and equipment of the shrine is up to this government." Sulayman Pasha happened to die shortly afterwards."[1]

In Nasiri's book called *Muntadham*, the following has been written:

"When the news of the massacre of the people and the destruction of Karbala reached the ears of Fath Ali Shah,[2] the Iranian King (who at that time had been ruling for several years), he sent Isma'il Baik Bayat to Sulayman Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, and he asked him to defeat and stop the Wahhabis. Sulayman Pasha did accept but he died soon after."[3]

Ridha Quli Khan has written about the matter above in more detail and has written, "When Fath Ali Shah became aware of this news, he first sent Isma'il Baik Bayat to Sulayman Pasha. He then sent Hajj Ibrahim's nephew called Hajj Ibrahim Khan Shirazi, who was Abbas Mirza's deputy minister, to the Egyptian embassy. He sent a kind and affable letter to Ali Pasha, who at that time was the ruler of Egypt, along with a Khurasani sword which was inlaid with jewels and gems.

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of the lion caliph who is powerful on the Oman shores, to reply to your request for help be it on land or on sea, secretly or openly. God has put the cities under our control and has put us in charge of managing the seas."

1. *Ma'thir Sultaniyyah,* p. 86.
2. The writer of *Dawhat Al-Wuzara* says, "They would inform the government of Iran of news that was related to Karbala and Najaf", p. 217.
3. *Muntadham Nasiri*, vol. 3, p. 78.

In the letter he asked him to put in effort to defeat the Wahhabis and push them away, otherwise to inform them so that Iran's king could send an army by land and sea to eliminate the Wahhabis.

When the Iranian ambassador reached Egypt and Pasha found out about the truth of the matter, he sent his stepson Ibrahim Pasha to fight with and to defeat that tribe (*the Wahhabis) and to destroy the city of Dir'iyyah. Ibrahim Pasha sent Abdullah bin Sa'ud, the Wahhabi prince, tied and shackled to Istanbul (Ottoman capital city). He was killed by order of the Ottoman king and the Iranian ambassador entered Tabriz by way of Syria having achieved success, and went to Abbas Mirza who was the viceroy."[1]

This author (*i.e. Ali Asghar Faqihi) has not found the measures Fath Ali Shah took in non-Iranian sources. Furthermore, as we will explain, in the course of history Muhammad Ali Pasha's conflicts with the Wahhabis were by order of the Ottoman king. However, one can say that the measures Fath Ali Shah took with regard to this matter were not ineffective.

The killing of Abdul-Aziz after the incident in Karbala

In the month of Rajab in 1218, Abdul-Aziz Wahhabi, who was Prince Sa'ud's father, was killed in the Dir'iyyah mosque while praying. His murderer was a Kurdish man called 'Uthman who was from the people of Amara in Musil. This man travelled from his homeland with the intention of pleasing God by killing Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz (Sa'ud was a murderer and plunderer in 1216 in the city of Karbala which is an honoured city by the Shi'ah). But because he could not reach Sa'ud he killed Abdul-Aziz instead. He entered the city of Dir'iyyah dressed as a dervish and he pretended he was an immigrant and displayed that he was an ascetic person and a worshipper. He showed himself to be obedient to the orders of Abdul-Aziz. Abdul-Aziz honoured him and gave him money and clothes; however, this man's intention was something else.

The aforesaid man leaped towards Abdul-Aziz when he was performing his *'asr*[2] prayers in prostration and slashed the area under

1. Nasiri's *Rawdhat Al-Safa*, vol. 9, a summary of p. 585-586.
2. Afternoon.

his stomach with a dagger. The order of the mosque was disturbed. A number of people fled and another group of people pursued the striker. In the end Abdullah bin Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud, Abdul-Aziz's brother, killed the striker. They took Abdul-Aziz to his palace but he died not long after.[1]

Ibn Bishr says after explaining how Abdul-Aziz was killed that: "According to a saying, the aforementioned dervish was from the people of the city of Husayn (Karbala), a Shi'ah. After Sa'ud killed the people of his city and plundered their money and belongings, he left the city to seek revenge against Sa'ud. He intended to kill Sa'ud but because he could not reach him he killed Abdul-Aziz (Sa'ud's father)." Ibn Bishr then says that: "This saying is closer to the truth."[2]

In the *Islamic Encyclopaedia* it is written that "Abdul-Aziz's murderer was a Shi'ah and was from the people of Amariyya."[3]

After the killing of Abdul-Aziz, Sa'ud who was his son and successor had several brave men who would stand in front of him and behind him so that he could not be harmed by anyone (*i.e. for protection).[4]

The Wahhabi attack on Najaf Al-Ashraf

Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz would attack Najaf Al-Ashraf every now and then, and he would kill several people who he would find outside the rampart of the city, but he could not enter the city.

The reason as to why he repeatedly attacked Najaf in short intervals was that he had a military base in an area called Rahba near Najaf.

When Sa'ud travelled from Rahba to Najaf with the intention of attacking Najaf, the people of the city would find out and close the city gates. Sa'ud would circle outside the city wall and whoever he found he would kill and throw his head inside the city.

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1. *Ibn Bishr*, vol. 1, p. 125 and *Salah Al-Deen Mukhtar*, vol. 1, p. 78.
2. *Unwan Al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 126.
3. Volume 1, p. 192. –Karkukli (*Dawhat Al-Wuzara*, p. 227) says, "Abdul-Aziz's murderer was of Afghan origin and a resident of Baghdad and was called Mulla 'Uthman. He had vowed to defend the orthodox religion and the Muslims. He decided to kill Abdul-Aziz and he wore the clothes that the Wahhabis wear."
4. *Ibn Bishr*, vol. 1, p. 172.

Sometimes a group of his companions, who were not more than ten people, would take the people of Najaf by surprise, enter the city and kill and plunder.[1]

The Wahhabi encounter with the Khaza'il tribe and their intensifying grudge and hatred towards Najaf

In 1214 A.H., a group of Najd people travelling together along with a group of Wahhabi horsemen came to Baghdad. The people of the group sold their merchandise and bought whatever they needed and set out to return to their city. A group of the people of Iraq intending to go and perform the Hajj rites also got going with them. When they reached Najaf,[2] a group of the Khaza'il tribe were there. The Wahhabi horsemen saw the Prince of the Khaza'il tribe kissing the threshold of Imam Ali's ('a) holy Haram. The Wahhabis attacked him and killed him. This caused a conflict to arise between the Khaza'il Arabs and the Wahhabi horsemen. This conflict lasted for three hours and a hundred people died from each side.

The Iraqi pilgrim's monies and the Wahhabi horses and camels were looted. Those that stayed alive from the Wahhabis returned to Najd and the Iraqi pilgrims returned to Baghdad.

This incident planted a seed of hatred between the Wahhabis and the people of Najaf and made it grow more than before.[3]

The first incident

The Wahhabis turned towards Najaf after they massacred the people of Karbala and destroyed their city in 1216.

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1. *Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha*, vol. 1, p. 324. –The writer of *Nazhat Al-Ghari* says, "The Wahhabis closed the people off from Najaf's water", p. 53.
2. The way from Iraq to Najd and Hejaz is a way which passes a dry desert and in the olden times the people of Iraq and Iran would travel on this route to go to Maccah to perform their Hajj rites. This route was known as the Jabal Route (this was because the people of the lands of Al-Jabal, which used to be the central area of Iran or the Persian section of Iraq, used this route to travel to Maccah to perform their Hajj rites). Today it is just about abandoned.
3. *Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha*, vol. 1, p. 325. –What happened in the incident of Karbala is quoted from a handwritten copy of the book *Ghara'ib Al-Athar*. Karkukli (*Dawhat Al-Wuzara*, p. 212) says, "The Wahhabis attacked Najaf in 1214 but the Khaza'il tribe stood in their way and killed three hundred of them".

Barqi quotes this incident from a person who was a witness, and he writes the following: "Sa'ud came to Najaf and besieged it. The two sides started shooting. Five people died from the people of Najaf and one of them was my uncle, Sayyid Ali Hasani famously known as Barqi. Since the people of Najaf were aware of the Wahhabi's actions and approach in Karbala, they were very troubled and upset. Old and young women came out of their houses and whenever they reached a group of defenders, they would say provoking sentences related to defending the city and protecting the female members of their family and would make their zeal and ardour overflow.

All the people of the city sought refuge in God with their cries and their calls, and asked for assistance and help from Ali ('a). God answered their calls and the enemy fled and its group dispersed."[1]

The second incident and the defence the scholars and seminary students employed to protect the city

The people of Najaf felt that the Wahhabis would not leave them alone and would attack Najaf again. The first measure they took was to transport the treasury of Imam Ali's Haram to Baghdad so that it would not be plundered like the Prophet's (s) Haram.[2] After doing so, they got ready to defend their country and their lives.

The leader of the people's defence of their city was the great Shi'ah scholar Allamah Shaykh Ja'far Kashif Al-Ghita', and the other scholars helped him. The late Kashif Al-Ghita' started collecting weapons and he gathered whatever he thought was needed to defend the city.

A few days after these preparations, the Wahhabi army arrived and stopped outside the city. They spent the night outside the city intending to attack, kill and plunder the next day.

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1. *Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha*, p. 325-326.
2. Karkukli (*Dawhat Al-Wuzara*, p. 217) says: "They transferred Imam Ali's ('a) treasury to Imam Musa Al-Kadhim's treasury". The writer of the book *Mawsuw'at Al-Atabaat Al-Muqaddasah*, vol. 1, from the section of Najaf, p. 166; quotes from the book *Tarikh Al-Iraq Bayn Al-Ihtalalein:* "in 1216, Imam Ali's ('a) treasury was carried from Najaf to Kadhemein because they were afraid of a Wahhabi attack. The person in charge of this transfer was Hajj Muhammad Sa'id Bik Daftari".

Kashif Al-Ghita' ordered the gates of the city to be closed and placed heavy stones behind the doors. In those times the doors of the city were small and short. The late Shaykh put a group of aggressive men who were ready to fight behind each gate. The other fighting men were placed inside the city and they had the duty of looking after the city walls.

Najaf's rampart had a weak foundation at that time and every forty or fifty cubits there was a tower. The late Kashif Al-Ghita' placed a group of seminary students armed with many weapons in every tower.

The number of all the people defending Najaf at that time did not exceed two hundred people. This was because most of the people fled after finding out about the Wahhabi attack and sought refuge in Iraqi tribes. Only a group of famous scholars such as Shaykh Hasan Najaf, Shaykh Khidr Shalaal, Sayyid Jawad Sahib Miftah Al-Karama, Shaykh Mahdi Mulla Kitab and another group of selected scholars stayed, and helped Kashif Al-Ghita'. They all surrendered themselves to death because there was a great number of enemies and attackers and they were only a few. However, it was greatly surprising to see that the Wahhabi army, which had stayed night and day outside the walls of the city, dispersed and left the area around the city before dawn.

The writer of the book *Sadaf* (p. 112), who is one of the people that witnessed and saw the incident, has estimated that the Wahhabi army had fifteen thousand men and that seven hundred of them were killed.

Ibn Bishr, the Najd historian, says the following with regard to the Wahhabi attack on Karbala: "In 1220, Sa'ud travelled along with a great army from Najd and the areas around it to the famous site of Najaf. He spread his men (according to Ibn Bishr, the Muslims) out around the city and he ordered them to destroy the rampart of the city. When his companions were close to the city, they reached a wide and deep moat and they could not cross it. A group of Wahhabis were killed in the battle because of the shots taken from the rampart and the towers of the city. The Wahhabis retreated and plundered the areas around the city."[1]

1. *'Unwan al-Majd fi Tarikh Najd*, vol. 1, p. 137.

To summarise, the Wahhabi attacks on Najaf were a series of events that took place one after the other, and the Wahhabis would never win and always helplessly retreated. The people of Najaf sought refuge in God to help them defend the city and they did *tawassul* to Ali (‘a), and they were supported and protected.[1]

The late Allamah Sayyid Jawad ‘Amili who was a witness and defender of Najaf says at the end of the fifth volume of *Miftah Al-Karama*, “On the ninth eve of the month of Safar in 1221, when there was one hour left till morning, all of a sudden the Wahhabis attacked us. Some of them had even managed to reach the top of the city wall and they were close to occupying the city. However, miracles appeared and took place by Amir Al-Mu’minin (‘a) which caused the attackers to retreat and many of their men to be killed.”[2] The aforesaid Allamah did not explain in detail what happened.

He has also said at the end of the seventh volume, “This part of the book was finished after the midnight of the ninth day of the blessed month of Ramadhan in 1225, with a worried heart and a feeling of distress because the Wahhabi Arabs of ‘Unayzah had surrounded Najaf Al-Ashraf and Imam Husayn’s (‘a) site (*i.e. Karbala).”[3]

The explanation about Rahba

At the beginning of our description and our account of the Wahhabi attack on, it was said that the Wahhabis had chosen Rahba as their military base.

Rahba was a habitable and green area which was close to Najaf. This land belonged to a rich and influential man called Sayyid Mahmud Najaf Rahbawi (with respect to Rahaba). Whenever the Arab Wahhabis set out on a journey to Najaf with the intention of attacking it, they would stop at Rahba and Sayyid Mahmud would honour their

1. *Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha*, vol. 1, p. 326.
2. *Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha*, vol.5, p. 512.
3. *Miftah Al-Karama*, vol. 7, p. 653. –What is quite interesting is that the late Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Jawad ‘Amili was busy writing his book at the same time that he was armed and ready to defend Najaf and was fearful every moment about the fall of the city and the massacre and plunder of the people. His book was a book like *Miftah Al-Karama*, which is a very important Shi’ah book of religious jurisprudence. He was busy writing his book till midnight and rather till sunrise.

arrival dearly and would do his best to respect and honour them. This is why it is said that he was their guide in the attack on Karbala.

As we said before, the late Kashif Al-Ghita' was the leader of the city's defenders. When he found out about this matter he sent a message to the above mentioned Sayyid Mahmud saying, "It is just and right for you to inform us anytime you feel that the Wahhabis intend or plan to attack Najaf so that we are not caught by surprise and we can get our defence ready."

Sayyid Mahmud's reply was, "I am a rich man and have many lands and I am like bait in the hands of the Wahhabis and I am afraid for my life." After receiving this reply, Kashif Al-Ghita' had no option but to appoint Najaf's young men to stand around the city and be attentive and watchful for a Wahhabi attack. Kashif Al-Ghita' also set a regular pay for these young men, and gave them weapons.[1]

From then until a long time afterwards, particularly after King Faisal was chosen to rule Iraq (after World War I), the Nejds would attack Najaf every now and then and would kill and plunder. However, these attacks didn't really have a religious aspect but were rather due to political factors.

For example, on the eve of the twelfth of Rajab 1340, Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan attacked the Muntafiq Iraqi tribes. According to the findings of the council, who were appointed to attend to this matter, in this attack 694 Iraqis were killed and 130 horses, 2530 camels, 3811 donkeys and 43010 sheep were plundered, and 781 houses were destroyed. The Nejdi people who committed the above attack were of the followers of Dawish (one of the heads of Ikhwan).

The people of Iraq who had bad memories of the incident of Najd became frantic and asked for the government to think of fundamental tactics to prevent these attacks from happening again. Many of the ministers resigned because of the aforesaid incident. With the intervention of the English government, who were represented by Sir Percy Cox, a contract was made between the government of Iraq and Ibn Sa'ud under the supervision of Sir Percy Cox.

1. Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha, vol. 1, p. 330.

The great gathering that was formed in Karbala

The English government's plans and tactics did not satisfy and assure the people of Iraq. Hence they turned to the scholars so that correct and assuring plans and tactics would be put in practise so that the people of Najd could not attack Iraq again.

The scholars of Najaf telegraphed the famous *Mujtahid*[1], Hajj Shaykh Mahdi Khalesi, who had a particular and special influence in Iraq, and they asked him to invite the heads of the tribes to come to Karbala on the twelfth day of Sha'ban in the same year (1340).

The late Khalesi accepted this invitation and he telegraphed around one hundred and fifty leaders and scholars and he provoked them so that they would be present at Karbala. He himself also left Kadhimain on the ninth of Sha'ban so that he could go to Karbala.

By these means a congress was formed in Karbala. Such a congress had never been formed in the history of Iraq. It was estimated that there were up to two hundred thousand (according to one saying three hundred thousand) people who came from different classes. In reality this great gathering was formed for the purpose of breaking off the influence and interference England had on matters related to Iraq.

Sessions of this congress were held for several days in different places. The last session was on the fifteenth of Sha'ban in Imam Husayn's ('a) holy courtyard. The opinions of the people were compiled in a manifesto and two copies were made and the participants signed both of the copies. This was done so that one of the copies could be given to King Faisal and the other stay with the scholars.

A summary of what was written in the manifesto is as follows:

"We signers sign genuinely on our behalf, and sign using our attorneyship on behalf of those who have appointed us, to agree that we were present in the gathering in Karbala which was formed for the Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan case and took place from the tenth till the fifteenth of Sha'ban 1340.

1. An expert in Islamic jurisprudence.

"We have unanimously decided to put in great effort to carry out what is for the good of our land concerning the killing and plundering that the Ikhwan have committed towards our Muslim brothers. Especially with respect to what is related to protecting the holy sites and the graves of the Awliyyah Al-Allah from the destruction and damage done by the enemies. We have also made an agreement to help tribes which have been subjected to Ikhwan's attacks with all our ability and power. Since the planning of this matter is subject to what His excellency King Faisal Awwal wants to do and wills, we request that he carry out the standing regulations for those killed by the Ikhwan and for the money and property plundered by them."

Even though King Faisal gave a gentle and kind reply to the above mentioned manifesto the situation of Iraq still did not change, and it resulted in the banishment of the late Khalisi from Iraq to Maccah and from there to Iran. He died in Ramadhan in 1343 A.H., in the holy site and was buried near the eighth Imam.

After the banishment of the late Khalisi, thirty of the scholars of Najaf and Karbala, who were originally Iranian, were also banished to Iran. Furthermore, the Najd attacks on Iraq did not stop. For example, on Kanoon Awwal in 1924[1] the Nejdi assailants attacked the tribes of the frontier. They killed sixteen people and plundered a large number of four legged animals. After four days they attacked again and they killed a number of people and they destroyed 150 tents.[2]

Some explanation about the aforesaid matter

1- The late Allamah Agha Shaykh Agha Bozorg Tehrani says the following when giving an account of the life of Ayatullah Hajj Mirza Husayn i Na'ini: "When Iraq was conquered by the English[3] and King

1. *Kanoon Awwal* is one of the old Roman months, which approximately corresponds with the month of Dey (*tenth month of the Persian solar year which has 30 days).
2. Extracted from the book *Tarikh Al-Wuzaaraat Al-Iraqiyya* -The incidents are explained and described in detail with regard to different matters in the first vol. of this book. Reminder: the Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan sect will be described in detail in section eight.
3. At the beginning of World War I, Iraq was occupied by the Ottoman government. After the Ottomans were defeated and at the end of World War I, Iraq fell into the hands of England.

Faysal was appointed the king of Iraq and it was agreed that a National Consultative Assembly would be initiated and started up and the ministers would be chosen, Ayatullah Na'ini, Ayatullah Agha Sayyid Abul Hasan Isfahani and several other contemporaries such as Shaykh Mahdi Khalisi and Sayyid Muhammad Firuz Abadi objected to the elections. As a result Khalisi was banished to Iran and the Shi'ah became active. The scholars formed a society in Najaf and Karbala in which views and thoughts could be exchanged. They decided to leave the country of Iraq as a protest. Na'ini and Isfahani immigrated to Iran and settled in Qum. At that time the religious leader of Qum was Ayatullah Agha Shaykh Abd Al-Karim Yazdi Ha'eri and he tried his best to honour and respect them and ordered his students to attend their lessons. When the worry and anxiety no longer existed and the affairs of Iraq were sorted out, these two scholars returned to Najaf."[1]

2- After the English conquered Iraq, which was after World War I, they wanted to appoint a ruler themselves. The people of Iraq revolted against this decision and took some measures. For example, in the month of Rabi' al-Ula in 1337 A.H they asked Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi to pronounce a decree. They sent the following message to him:

"ما يقول شيخنا و ملاذنا حضرة حجة الاسلام والمسلمين آية الله في العالمين الشيخ ميرزا محمد تقي الحائري الشيرازي (متّع الله المسلمين بطول بقائه) في تكليفنا معاشر المسلمين بعد ان منحتنا الدولة المفخمة البريطانية العظمى حق انتخاب امير لنا نستظل بظّله ونعيش تحت رايته ولوائه فهل يجوز لنا انتخاب غير المسلم للامارة والسلطنة علينا، أم يجب علينا اختيار المسلم؟ بيّنوا تؤجروا."

"What does our leader and refuge, his eminence, Ayatullah of the whole world, Shaykh Mirza Muhammad Taqi Ha'eri Shirazi, who God has permitted a long life so that the Muslims may benefit from his presence, say with regard to the Britannic majesty's government giving us the right to choose an Prince so that we be at peace under his shadow and live under his flag? Is it permissible for us to choose a

1. *Tabaqat A'lam Al-Shi'ah*, vol. 1, sec. 2, p. 594.

non-Muslim to be the ruler so that he can command and rule us or is it obligatory for us to choose a Muslim to take this role? Please state your ruling on this matter and may God reward you."

Allamah Ha'eri Shirazi gave the following reply at the bottom of the above letter:

"ليس لأحد من المسلمين أن ينتخب ويختار غير المسلم للامارة والسلطنة على المسلمين. محمد تقي الحائري الشيرازي"

"No Muslim has the right to choose a non-Muslim to rule and reign the Muslims."[1]

3- In Karbala the *mujtahids* also issued *fatwas* saying that whoever is eager to have a non-Muslim government rule his country, has left the religion (*i.e. is no longer Muslim). This *fatwa* was the main reason for the people's great move and rise against the English sovereignty, which had occupied Iraq.[2]

Meanwhile Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan, a Wahhabi sect, was repeatedly attacking the borders of Iraq, so much so that the feeling of fear and dread had spread among the people. (For this reason) a gathering took place in Najaf, and this resulted in them deciding to ask the great Allamah Agha Shaykh Mahdi Khalisi, who was a resident of Kadhimain, to arrange a meeting and society in Karbala and to invite a selection of influential men, shaykhs and Iraqi tribes to come on the first day of Nisan 1922.

Khalisi accepted this proposal, and it appeared that the reason for the invitation was to hold negotiations about the needed defence tactics to prevent a Wahhabi attack.[3] However this session and the other sessions that were organised later, were an introduction for the meeting that took place in Imam Husayn's ('a) courtyard in which two hundred thousand people participated.[4] We gave an account of this before.

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1. The text of the question and the reply was extracted from the book *Turath Al-Karbala*, p. 285.
2. *Mowsow'at A'tabaat Al-Muqadasa*, the section on Karbala, vol. 1, p. 336.
3. The same source as above, p. 356; and the book fi *Bilad Al-Rafidayn*, p. 69.
4. The same book as above, p. 358.

4- The thirteenth day of Sarataan (the month of Tir[1]) in 1302 (20th of Dhul Qa'dah 1341), telegraphs were sent from distinguished scholars and some *marja' taqlid*[2], who were residents of the area between the two rivers (i.e. Iraq). These telegraphs said that the persistence of the English government's officials and the ruling the Arab Iraq gave resulted in the banishment of a number of Iraqi scholars, more than thirty something people, to Iran. The reason for the banishment seemed to be due to the *fatwa* the Iraqi scholars gave against Iraq's parliament and because of the measures the scholars took against the Iraqi and English government.

The 15th day of Sarataan 1302 (22nd of Dhil Qa'dah 1341), the scholars entered Kermanshah with the utmost glorification and they stopped there. After asking the government for permission to travel several times, permission was given; therefore, they all travelled from Kermanshah to Hamedan when there were only two hours left to sunset, on the 13th day of Asad (Mordad[3]) 1302 (21st of Dhil-Hijja 1341). They did not stop for a long time in Hamedan and then went to Qum and stayed there.

Due to measures the Iranian government took and the English government's agreement with regard to the late Khalisi, who was banished to Hejaz, it was agreed that he should leave Hejaz and go to Iran until a definite course of action was decided for him.[4]

Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz 1218-1229

It was said that Abdul-Aziz was killed in 1218. After Abdul-Aziz, his son Sa'ud took his place.

Sa'ud was the most powerful Sa'udi prince. He tried very hard to expand the Sa'udi government in the time of his father and also when he himself became the ruler. He regularly encroached upon the surrounding areas and would invade from one area to another. He would also fight against the other powers and influences in the

1. The 4th month of the Persian solar year which has 31 days.
2. A learned scholar, whose opinions and rulings are followed on all religious issues and matters.
3. The 5th month of the Persian solar year which has 31 days.
4. A compressed summary from the book *Tarikh Bist Saleye Iran* by Mr Husayn Mecci, vol. 2, p. 342-353.

Arabian Peninsula and in the areas surrounding it. It seems that it was for this reason that the Sa'udi writers have given him the title of 'great'.[1]

At the time of Sa'ud, the Wahhabi faith spread in Hejaz as well. This was because, as we said before, Sharif Ghalib was very keen to keep the rest of his power and influence in Hejaz and so he surrendered to the Wahhabis. This caused the Wahhabi faith to spread in Hejaz.[2]

The author of the book *Tarikh Maccah* says: "In 1220, Sharif Ghalib accepted to follow the Nejds in his emirate and because of this he tried to conform with the new circumstances (*such as the following): he banned the smoking of tobacco products, he ordered the people to pray their prayers in a congregation in the mosque, he ordered the *mu'aththin* to only read the call to prayer and to not send *salams* (to the Prophet -s-) and to not advise the people and ask for mercy while reading the *azan*. In 1221, by order of Sa'ud, Sharif Ghalib announced publicly that from then on in Maccah none of the pilgrims had the right to shave off the hair on their chin."[3]

Ibn Bishr says, "I was present on Sa'ud's seventh pilgrimage in 1225, and I saw that he was *muhrim*[4] riding a camel. We had gathered together in the Namira Mosque (in Arafat) to perform the afternoon prayers. Sa'ud gave a great speech while sitting on his camel. I saw that Sharif Ghalib and one other person came towards Sa'ud on horseback. Sa'ud got down from his camel and he embraced Sharif Ghalib. Sa'ud then entered Maccah and in the bazaar he appointed some men to force people to pray at prayer times. One did not see many people violating the rule of praying and no one was seen smoking tobacco or committing other prohibited issues."[5]

The start of the conflicts between Al[6] Sa'ud and the Ottomans

From the time that the Sa'ud household formed a government, they wanted to gather the areas around the Arabian Peninsula and place

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah,* vol. 1, p. 86.
2. *Islamic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, p. 192.
3. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 135-136.
4. Clothed in a pilgrim state.
5. '*Unwan Al-Majd*, vol. 1, a summary of p. 1530.
6. Household of Sa'ud.

them under the rule of one government, gather them under one flag and form a vast Arab empire. This was the very thing that scared the Ottoman kings in Constantinople and it was this that caused the Ottomans to fight with Al Sa'ud and to show great activity in their conflicts.[1]

Other factors that caused greater enmity and vengefulness between Al 'Uthman and Al Sa'ud also existed. For example, they stopped a camel-litter, which was brought to the Haramain Al-Sharifain every year with particular rituals and ceremonies, from entering Haramain Al-Sharifain (an account of this will be given later on when discussing Jam'iyyat Al-Ikhwan). A more important factor was that Sa'ud ordered the name of the Ottoman sultan to no longer be uttered in speeches. The most important factor of all was that Sa'ud wrote a letter to the governor of Damascus saying that not only would he have to believe in the Wahhabi faith but also the Ottoman Sultan would have to accept it too.

Apart from the factors above, the Wahhabis also continually invaded the Ottoman lands. The mentioned factors and other matters made the Sublime Porte decide to leave the attack on Hejaz up to the governor of Egypt, Ali Pasha.[2]

When 1226 arrived, Sultan 'Uthmani was worried about the progress Sa'ud had made. Sa'ud had occupied Najd, Hejaz, Yemen and Oman and had formed a large Arab country.

In 1226 in the month of Dhil Qa'dah, the Sultan sent a well-equipped army with extensive weapons and war equipment, several cannons, reserves, money, food, and tents to Egypt. At that time the governor of Egypt was Ali Pasha, who was made commander of the army by Sultan 'Uthmani.[3] In addition, Sultan 'Uthmani ordered Ali Pasha to get another army ready, and to add it to the Turkish army.

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1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 118. –The Ottoman writer Sulayman Fa'iq Bik says, "Sa'ud wanted to form an Arabic government consisting of Iraq, Hejaz and Syria and wanted to be the king of that government", (p. 37).

2. *Islamic encyclopaedia*, vol.1, p. 192-193.

3. The Egyptian land was occupied by the Ottomans from the time of Sultan Salim 'Uthmani. At the time we are discussing, Muhammad Ali Pasha was appointed governor of Egypt by Sultan 'Uthmani; however, he and his successors gradually

Muhammad Ali Pasha equipped an army from Egypt and Morocco and sent them to Hejaz via the sea, and placed the army under the command of his son Ahmad Dowsoon. Dowsoon attacked the Yanbu'e port, which is on the shores of the Red Sea (closest port to the enlightened Medinah) and conquered it easily. When Prince Sa'ud found out about this incident he issued an urgent order for the people who lived in the lands occupied by him, such as the Bedouins and the urbans, to hastily move to Medinah.

Eighteen thousand people were collected in a short amount of time. He entrusted the leadership of the army to his son Prince Abdullah. Abdullah fought with the Turkish army and after several incidents, the Turks were finally defeated and Ahmad Dowsoon returned to Yanbu'e port.[1]

Ibn Bishr Najdi says, "The number of Turks killed was more than four thousand, and around six hundred Sa'udis were killed."[2]

The second attack

In 1227 Muhammad Ali Pasha sent an army, which was larger and more equipped than the last army, to Hejaz. This army and the defeated army besieged Medinah together, and placed cannons around the city. They also made pits beneath Medinah's rampart and after placing gunpowder in the pits, they set them on fire. This made the city wall fall and the Turks occupied the city.

In this conflict, four thousand Sa'udis were killed and the ruler of Medinah asked for peace. After some time the Egyptian forces attacked Maccah and Sharif Ghalib, defying the treaty he had made with Sa'ud, made an agreement with the Turks. Sharif Ghalib ordered his army to join the Turkish army. Ahmad Dowsoon occupied the city of Maccah having had no conflicts whatsoever and stayed at the Qarara Palace.

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became independent. According to George Antonius, Muhammad Ali Pasha claimed leadership and the Austrian government encouraged him in making this claim. *Yaqazat Al-Arab*, p. 86.

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 1, a summary of p. 119.
2. '*Unwan Al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 158.

In the next year, in the month of Dhil Qa'dah (1228), Ali Pasha entered Maccah with a great army accompanied by a group of Egyptian pilgrims. As usual Sharif Ghalib went to see him to pay his respects. He honoured and respected him at first, but in one of the meetings they had, Ali Pasha ordered Sharif Ghalib to be arrested and put his property and money in requisition and banished him to Salonika (in Greece). Sharif stayed there until 1231 and died when he contracted the plague.[1]

The Wahhabi attack on Muscat and the Imam of Muscat seeking help from Fath Ali Shah

Sipihr says the following when giving an account of the incidents and events that occurred in 1226: "Verily, Wahhabis added to their power and glory until they managed to place the land of Bahrain under their rule. They made a strong effort to plunder and kill the people of Muscat.

"The Imam of Muscat informed Prince Husayn Ali Mirza, who was the ruler of Persia. Thus Sadiq Khan Dawaloy Qajar who had experience in fighting with the Arabs carried out the orders of the prince and invaded Muscat with a large Iranian army. In Muscat he added a group of people to his army and continued invading until he reached the areas around Dir'iyyah.

"Prince Sa'ud sent Saif bin Malek and Muhammad bin Seif along with a large number of Arabs to fight against the Iranian army. After the difficult war that took place between the two sides, Muhammad and Seif fled having received fatal injuries and they left behind many dead. The Imam of Muscat sent a deserving gift as a sign of gratitude to Prince Husayn Ali Mirza. Fath Ali Shah was informed of this news on the 20th of Rabi' Al-Awwal."[2]

As we saw, the above incident was recorded by Sipihr as a part of the events that took place in 1226. However Jabarti has mentioned this incident when giving an account of the events that took place in 1218 saying the following: "The Wahhabis evacuated Maccah and Jeddah

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah* (a summary of p. 123 to 129).
2. *Nasikh Al-Tawarikh Qajariyyeh*, vol. 1, p. 206.

because the news that the Iranians have attacked Dir'iyyah and occupied part of it, reached them."[1]

It can be said that the Iranians attacked Najd repeatedly and we read in Sipihrs writings that he said that Sadiq Khan Dawaloy "had experience fighting with the Arabs."[2]

Therefore, it is possible that Jabarti has here pointed out another attack which is different from the attack Sipihr has written about. In any case in 1227 Najd asked for the Iranian government to make peace with them, and it seems that after that no important conflicts took place between them.

Sa'ud's death

Prince Sa'ud died of an inflammation in his urinary bladder on the 11th of Jumada al-Ula in 1229. Sa'ud studied with Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab for two years. He was accomplished in the sciences of exegesis, Islamic jurisprudence and Hadith, and he gave lessons on these subjects.[3]

Sa'ud's son Prince Abdullah and the repeated attacks by the Ottomans

After the death of Sa'ud the people swore allegiance to his son Abdullah. The Arabs of every area came and expressed their obedience and submission to Abdullah. At the same time, Muhammad Ali Pasha, who had settled in Maccah, equipped and dispatched a well-equipped army to fight against the Wahhabis. Conflicts repeatedly occurred between them and this resulted in peace treaty. However, because Sultan 'Uthmani and Muhammad Ali Pasha had planned and decided to overthrow the Wahhabis and to remove their government, and a group of the tribes of Najd and Hejaz had gone to Egypt and had started to bad mouth Prince Abdullah, Muhammad Ali Pasha gathered a large army together. The army consisted of the

1. *Al-Mokhtar min Tawarikh Al-Jabarti*, p. 539.
2. In the late Shams Al-'Ulamay Gorkani's book the conflicts between the Wahhabis and the Iranian army (whose commander was Sadiq Khan), the Wahhabi attack on Iran, the Wahhabi letter to Fath Ali Shah and his reply have all been mentioned. However, he has not given the source of this information.
3. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-AArabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol.1, p. 133.

Turks, Egyptians, and people from the Morocco region[1] and people from Syria[2] and Iraq. When Ali Pasha's son died in 1231 he made his other son (according to one saying his stepson) Ibrahim Pasha the commander in chief of the army. Ibrahim Pasha left Egypt with a large army. He reached Medinah first and he conquered it and the areas around it. He then reached the waters of Hanakiyyah and started killing the people in the areas around it and plundering their wealth.

Ibrahim Pasha made the people from the surrounding tribes so frightened that many of them came to him and expressed their obedience and were prepared to support him in battle. Ibrahim stayed in Hanakiyyah until 1232 and then attacked the Rajla area in Najd.

Prince Abdullah prepared many forces and went to Hejaz intending to crush the tribes which had obeyed Ibrahim Pasha. The aforesaid tribes sought refuge in Ibrahim Pasha when they found out what Prince Abdullah wanted to do.[3]

The conflicts that took place between the two sides were mostly losses for Abdullah. This was because Ibrahim Pasha's army was several times the number of Abdullah's army and also had new war equipment and strong cannons.[4] Ibrahim gradually occupied the Rass area and the cities of Khabra and 'Unayzah (one of the regions in Najd), and he also occupied the city of Shqra' (in Najd) peacefully.

To conclude Ibrahim Pasha continually went forward and occupied the regions of Najd and Hejaz, and his progress was accompanied by destruction, killing and plundering until he finally besieged Dir'iyyah, and after several battles that took place, he occupied it. He put a number of Sa'udi princes inside the cannons or shot them, and Prince Abdullah surrendered.

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1. It is possible that what is meant by the 'Morocco region' is the city of Marrakesh, or that it also consists of Algeria and Tunis.
2. At that time Syria consisted of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. The present division of these countries were made after World War I.
3. The course of events is related to the time when Ibrahim Pasha was still in Hanakiyya.
4. Ibn Bishr says, "The cost of shooting a cannonball from the cannons, which were transported from Egypt to Dir'iyyah, was 8 Riyyals, and a camel could not carry more than six of them", vol. 1, p. 218.

When this news reached Egypt, they fired one thousand cannonballs as a sign of happiness, and they put up decorations in Egypt and the areas around it for seven days.

Prince Abdullah in Egypt and the story of the treasuries of the Prophet's (s) Shrine

After two days Ibrahim Pasha sent a group of his army with Abdullah and informed him to get ready to go to Istanbul to confront Sultan 'Uthmani. He instructed the army to take extra care of Abdullah until he reached the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman court).

Ibn Bishr says, "They made Prince Abdullah leave Dir'iyyah along with three or four of his companions[1] (according to Zayni Dahlan "along with a great number of the Najd princes"). He entered Egypt in Muharram of 1234. In Egypt they formed a large retinue for him so that the people could see him. When Abdullah went to see Muhammad Ali Pasha, Pasha stood up as a sign of respect to him and made him Abdullah sit near him. While Ali Pasha spoke to Abdullah, he asked him: "What do you think of Ibrahim Pasha?" He answered, "He was not negligent in carrying out his duty and put in the effort that was needed, and I was like that too and what God wanted to happen took place." Then Muhammad Ali Pasha made him wear the robe of honour."

Abdullah had a small box with him and Muhammad Ali Pasha asked him what it was. He answered, "My father picked this up from the cell (i.e. the holy Prophet's (s) shrine) and I am taking it to Sultan 'Uthmani."

"Muhammad Ali ordered the box to be opened. Inside the box they found three copies of the Qur'an, which was from the treasuries of the kings, and no one had seen more beautiful copies of the Qur'an. They also found three hundred large pearls and large emeralds and a gold dish. Muhammad Ali Pasha asked, "Have you taken other things from the cell?" He answered, "This was in my father's hands and he was not the only person to pick up whatever he found in the cell, the Arabs and people of Medinah and the eunuchs of the holy Haram also had taken some objects."

1. '*Unwan Al-Majd*, vol. 1, p. 210.

"Muhammad Ali said this was true because we saw many of these things in the hands of the Sharif of Maccah."[1]

The execution of Prince Abdullah

Muhammad Ali Pasha then sent Prince Abdullah to Istanbul. There after they paraded him in the Bazaar they executed Abdullah in front of the Humayun door (the sultan's palace), and they executed those that had accompanied him in an area in the city of Istanbul.

Destroying the city of Dir'iyyah and the deportation of Al Sa'ud and Al Shaykh to Egypt

Throughout the wars that took place between the two sides and especially at the time of the besiegement and occupation of the city of Dir'iyyah, a group of men from the Sa'ud household and from Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's household were either killed or executed, such as Shaykh Sulayman bin Abdullah bin Shaykh bin Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab. After Ibrahim Pasha's compromise with the people of Dir'iyyah, he requested to see Shaykh Sulayman and made him come by threatening and frightening him. He then ordered a few people to play the rebec in front of him to belittle him, and after that he shot him.

Ibrahim Pasha stayed around nine months in Dir'iyyah. During that time he issued orders regarding the banishment of all of the Sa'ud household and Shaykh Muhammad's household. His orders were carried out and the members of these two households were arrested and sent to Egypt.

In the month of Sha'ban in 1234, Muhammad Ali Pasha sent a letter to Ibrahim Pasha, in which he ordered him to destroy the city of Dir'iyyah and to level it with the ground.[2]

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1. Zayni Dahlan, *Al-Futuhat Al-Islamiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 267-268.
2. Ibn Bishr has said, "The firmness, greatness and riches of the buildings and the large population in Dir'iyyah 150 years ago are indescribable. Caravans were constantly entering and leaving the city and few houses were sold. The price of houses was seven thousand Riyyals and five thousand Riyyals, and the cheap houses cost around one thousand Riyyals. The amount of rent paid for each shop was forty five Riyyals a month", vol. 1, p. 216.

Ibrahim Pasha ordered the people of Dir'iyyah to leave the city, and then his army destroyed the government palaces and people's houses, and cut down the date palm trees. Some of the houses were destroyed when there were residents still inside them. They also destroyed the gardens and put the houses on fire. They left nothing but a heap of dust behind.

Apart from destroying Dir'iyyah, Ibrahim Pasha sent forces to destroy the other forts, ramparts and walls that existed in Najd. Throughout these events one Nejdi man unexpectedly attacked Ibrahim Pasha and tore a section of his clothes and his saddle with a dagger; however, Ibrahim Pasha was not harmed.

Since then severe chaos and anarchy spread throughout the lands of Najd and the people of the tribes and the people of different areas started fighting with each other. Ibrahim Pasha returned to Medinah, and from there he went to Syria and conquered some areas.[1]

Ibrahim Pasha entering Egypt and his surprising and bizarre arrogance

After Ibrahim Pasha's clear victory and the great defeat of the Wahhabis, he entered Egypt in 1235. At that time the public crier called out that decorations must be put up in Cairo, Egypt for seven days.

The people tried their best to decorate the city. The Christians carried out some strange actions in their districts and guesthouses, and they displayed bizarre pictures, statues and images.

Ibrahim entered from Baab Al-Nasr[2] with the retinue they had given him, having left a great amount of money[3] in Hejaz. Muhammad Ali Pasha was present in the Ghowri Mosque to see his son's retinue.

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1. This is a very brief account of Muhammad Ali Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha's attack on the Wahhabis, which is written in a list format and is extracted from the book *Unwan Al-Majd* by Ibn Bishr Najdi, vol. 1, p. 157 onwards; and the book *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 1, from p. 143 to around p. 193. In addition to the aforesaid books I have benefited from the books *Al-Futuhat Al-Islamiyyah* by Sayyid Ahmad Zayni Dahlan Mufti Maccah and *A'jaib Al-Aathaar Jabarti*.
2. The door of Al-Nasr, *baab* means door.
3. Allowing it to be served as a debt.

Putting up decorations, staying up all night, playing with fire, shooting cannonballs, and playing music and various games and amusements in old and new Egypt[1], Bulaq (a famous Egyptian city) and all of the Egyptian territories continued for seven days and nights.

Ibrahim Pasha believed he was really important and great when he returned from this trip and he became so arrogant that his arrogance had no limit. This shocking arrogance became evident when the elders and learned men came to say their salams and to congratulate and praise him. He did not stand up for them and did not give a reply to their greetings. When the elders and learned men sat down and congratulated him he still did not reply and he didn't even give some sort of sign and carried on talking to his court jester. The elders and learned men returned from this meeting feeling very upset and dejected.[2]

Sale of the Wahhabi captives

Jabarti says the following: "In Muharram in 1235, a group of the Moroccan army and the Hejazi Arabs entered Egypt along with Wahhabi women, girls and boys who they had taken captive. Even though the captives were Muslims and free (*i.e. not slaves), the army sold the captives to whoever wanted them."[3]

"They might have sold their captives because the Wahhabi opponents believed that the Wahhabis were outsiders (*i.e. not Muslim). Another possibility is that, according to Jabarti's writings, most of the Ottoman army did not follow any religion or faith. They carried boxes filled with alcohol with them, the call to prayer was never heard from their camp, they never performed prayers and they didn't consider carrying out religious rites. When investigating the dead Ottomans that were left behind by the Ottoman army, it was found that many of them had not been circumcised.[4]

1. What is meant by the country of Egypt is the city of Cairo which is divided into two parts called old Cairo and new Cairo.
2. *Al-Mokhtar min Tarikh Al-Jabarti*, p. 1013-1012.
3. Ibid, p. 1012-1013.
4. Ibid, p. 823. –Ibn Iyyas has written stories about the corruption and the calamitous acts committed by the Ottoman army. At the time when Sultan Salim was reigning in Egypt, it became so severe that by order of the Sultan they announced that as long

Based on the matters mentioned, an army with the above characteristics would be willing to sell the captives they took from the enemies in war as slaves and wouldn't think about the religion and faith of the captives.

However, considering that the captives were in the hands of an Arab Hejazi group and a Moroccan army, perhaps the first possibility was more accurate. There were other occasions where the Ottoman army sold and bought Wahhabi women and children on the basis that they were from the Khawarij sect."[1]

Re-establishing the government of Al Sa'ud

One would have thought that by executing Prince Abdullah in Istanbul and banishing Al Sa'ud and Al Shaykh Muhammad to Egypt, that Sultan 'Uthmani and Muhammad Ali Pasha had achieved what they wanted and had overthrown the government of the Sa'ud household and the Wahhabis. However, this was not so because a number of the members of these two households fled and later on they took the necessary measures to form an Al Sa'ud government yet again.

One of the members that fled was Prince Turki, who was the son of Prince Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Sa'ud. The other members that fled were Zayd, who was Prince Turki's brother, and Ali bin Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab. They both fled to Qatar and Oman. Prince Turki is the person who established the Sa'ud government again.[2]

Towards the end of 1234, Muhammad bin Mushari bin Ma'mar who was Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz's nephew, moved to 'Uyaynah when Ibrahim Pasha ordered Dir'iyyah to be destroyed. When he returned to Dir'iyyah he wanted to take over and he coveted the government of Najd because he was a relation of Al Sa'ud.

Ibn Ma'mar built the city of Dir'iyyah all over again and he stored a large amount of weapons and war equipment and he obtained a lot of money. He started to invite people to believe in using the same

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as the army was in Cairo no servant, women or boys without beards had the right to come to the bazaar (*Bidayi'e Al-Zuhur*, vol. 5, p. 188).

1. *Al-Mokhtar min Tarikh Al-Jabarti*, p. 823.
2. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 1, p. 194.

method of the past Sa‘ud princes and so he sent letters to people living in the cities, surrounding villages and the leaders of the tribes. In the letter he invited them to come to see him. Some accepted this invitation and some revolted.

Ibn Ma’mar managed to gain superiority over his opponents by using well thought out tactics and plans and he became powerful and strong. Meanwhile the aforementioned Turki bin Abdullah and his brother entered Dir’iyyah. Turki first made an agreement with Ibn Ma’mar; however, throughout the many and lengthy events that occurred between them they started to have disputes with each other until, at last, Ibn Ma’mar was executed by Turki.

At the same time as the events that occurred above, in 1235 A.H., Najd was in a severely chaotic state and the tribes started having conflicts with each other like in the olden days. It was during this time that a part of the English naval force, equipped with cannons and many warships, attacked Ra’s Al-Khaymah and they occupied the city. The people fled and the English forces destroyed the city.[1]

Prince Turki

Prince Turki was caught up with the Turkish Ottoman attacks from 1236. As we have pointed out before, the reason for this, was that Sultan ‘Uthmani was annoyed and upset with the formation of a large Arab government. Due to the fact that Prince Turki gradually gained power and strength and was expanding the circle of his occupations, Sultan ‘Uthmani sent an army of Turks to Najd and appointed Hasan Bik, who was a functionary, as its commander. At about the same time Turki declared the famous city of Riyadh, which is the capital city of Sa‘udi Arabia today, to be the centre of his government and around the same time his son fled from Egypt and joined him.

Turki’s reign was full of wars and disputes between the tribes and full of killings, plundering and different types of upsets until 1249 when his nephew Mashari bin Abd Al-Rahman bin Sa‘ud unexpectedly killed him. Mashari was one of the people who had been banished to Egypt by Ibrahim Pasha but he managed to flee from Egypt and to take refuge in his uncle Turki. After Mashari took refuge in his uncle,

1. Idem, a summary of p. 198 to 207.

Turki honoured him and made him the governor of the city of Manfuha. However because Mashari desired leadership he betrayed Turki. However, he was also killed soon after by Faisal, Turki's son, to get revenge for his father's killing.

Turki's son Faisal

After Turki was killed one of his servants ran away from Riyadh and went to Ahsa where Turki's son Faisal was. The servant informed Faisal of what had happened and Faisal attacked Riyadh to get revenge for his father. A group of the city defenders supported him and after several conflicts he conquered Riyadh. He then killed Mashari and some of his companions.

In the beginning of 1250 Faisal became his father's successor and ruled Najd. The governors of the surrounding cities and the leaders of the tribes swore allegiance to Faisal and congratulated him for becoming leader.

Al Rashid

In 1251 Faisal removed the Prince of Jabal Shammar from office and put Abdullah bin Al-Rashid in his place. When Abdullah reached the city of Ha'il, which is the centre of Jabal Shammar, severe disputes arose between him and the household of Ali, who were the pious assistants and aids of the previous prince. This resulted in a conflict taking place. In the end Ibn Al-Rashid besieged Salih in his palace and then Ibn Rashid showed some mercy and pitied Salih and threw him out of the city. He then wrote to Faisal and said that Al Ali started the disputes and conflicts and Faisal confirmed that what he said was true.

Since then Al Rashid remained in Jabal Shammar and planned to expand their occupied lands. One of the princes of this household, who was called Muhammad, even defeated Riyadh and threw the Sa'udi Prince called Abdul-Aziz out of Najd and sent him to Kuwait. However, even with all this their power and reign did not last long and soon after Abdul-Aziz had conflicts with them and they were totally removed and abolished in 1336 A.H.

It was at the time of Muhammad, the powerful Prince of Al Rashid (1285-1315), that the European world explorers were allowed to come

to the mountain of Shammar and as we said before several Europeans viewed it from a close distance.[1]

* * *

The new Turkish attack on Najd and Faisal's arrest and banishment

A group of the Egyptian army, whose commander was Ahmad Pasha, lived in Maccah.

The Sharif of Maccah Ahmad bin 'Awn provoked Ahmad Pasha to attack the Asir region (a region close to Najd). At first the people of Asir pretended to be obedient to Ahmad Pasha; however, when it was the right time and they had the chance they attacked the Egyptians unawares and they confused them and annihilated them. The Egyptian forces attacked Najd again and conquered the city of Riyadh and Prince Faisal fled to Ahsa.

What was obvious and clear throughout the Ottoman attacks on Najd was that the Egyptian and Ottoman army invaded and occupied Najd easily. However, throughout their stay there they were faced with many difficulties and these difficulties were related to both the climate of Najd, which was unsuited to the health of the Turks and Egyptians, and the distress which the surrounding tribes caused them among other such factors. In any case what one learns from these factors is that after the Ottomans occupied Najd, they left soon after.[2]

1. One of the non-Arab writers was the English writer Lady Blant, who travelled to the mountain of Shammar and Ha'il with her husband. In her travellogue she has given an accurate description of Al Rashid, the state the government was in and what they did, p. 156 onwards.

2. Anne Blunt, who visited those lands ninety something years ago when the Turkish Ottoman attacks still continued in Najd, says, "The Turks with all their administrative power and war equipment and with their great wealth, were never able to protect the lives and money of the travellers in the desert and in the time they were in the Arab countries they only had power and influence in the cities. It was even not possible for them to cross the route to Hajj from Damascus, which was supposedly in their hands, without being accompanied by an army and without facing great danger." (A Journey to the lands of Najd, p. 220).

The aforesaid matter also caused the Ottoman army to become weak in Najd and Riyadh. In addition, Faisal returned from Ahsa to Riyadh but was unable to conquer Riyadh.

In 1254, the commander of the Egyptian army who was called Khurshid Pasha, sent armed forces from the Qasim region to Riyadh and he appointed a Kurdish man called Mulla Sulayman as it commander. Khurshid Pasha also ordered the previous commander, Isma'il Agha, to leave Egypt. Also after some time Khurshid Pasha came to 'Unayzah and conflicts and incidents arose between him and Faisal. This resulted in Faisal surrendering and being sent to Egypt.

Faisal's escape from Egypt

Salah Al-Din Mukhtar quotes two statements about Faisal's escape from Egypt. One of them is Ibn Bishr's saying in the book *'Unwan Al-Majd fi Tarikh Al-Najd*, which is: "Faisal escaped from a palace that the Egyptian rulers had made exclusive to him with his brother, his cousin and his cousin's two sons Abdullah and Muhammad. They escaped from the windows which were seventy cubits long, and did this by going down ropes which they had secretly prepared. They then got on the horses that were made available to them and fled to the mountain of Shammar."

The other statement is Amin Rayhani's saying in the book *Najd Al-Hadith*. This states that Muhammad Ali Pasha freed Faisal from prison so that he could return as the Prince of Najd to his city (in this case we cannot call this an escape).

Salah Al-Din believes that Ibn Bishr's saying is true, for the reason that Ibn Bishr was Faisal's contemporary.[1]

When Faisal returned to Najd he made the mountain of Shammar his residence. At that time one of his cousins, Abdullah bin Thanyaan, who had gained power in 1257, was ruling Riyadh and its surrounding areas. After some incidents and events that occurred, Faisal captured Ibn Thanyaan and imprisoned him and Ibn Thanyaan died in prison.

Faisal was one of the powerful and prudent princes of Al Sa'ud who dealt with the seditions that existed, and after years of chaos and

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyyaa*, vol. 1, p. 318.

anarchy he created peace and security. He also added more lands to the lands he had occupied. However, chaos, battles and disputes appeared yet again in Najd and Faisal tried to eradicate and deal with them.

Faisal died in the month of Rajab in 1282. After his death disputes, disorder and chaos raged again in the Sa‘udi government.

Al Sa‘ud government after Faisal up to the leadership of Abdul-Aziz bin Sa‘ud

After Faisal, his son Abdullah became ruler. From that date which was in the month of Rajab 1282 until 1283 peace was established. However, in 1283 Abdullah’s brother Sa‘ud became disobedient to him and he asked for help from some of the princes of the surrounding areas. This resulted in a war between Abdullah’s army (whose commander was Muhammad, who was Abdullah’s other brother) and Sa‘ud’s army. Sa‘ud was defeated and suffered injuries. He fled to Ahsa and from there went to Oman.

In 1287, Sa‘ud went to Bahrain and sought refuge in Al Khalifa (*i.e. the Khalifa household), who were the princes of Bahrain. He asked them to help him fight his brother and the princes of Bahrain promised they would help him. A group of other opponents such as the al-Ajman tribe and Al Murra also joined Sa‘ud.

Abdullah was defeated by Sa‘ud in the war that took place between them. Muhammad was captured and imprisoned and Sa‘ud occupied Ahsa and Riyadh. After some time the governor of Baghdad sent an army whose commander was Fariq Pasha to Najd to help Abdullah. This army, of which Abdullah was a member, defeated Sa‘ud severely.

In addition to the aforementioned army, the Ottomans dispatched another army under the command of Midhat Pasha. With the help of Shaykh Mubarak Al-Salah, who was one of the Kuwaiti princes, this army entered the ‘Aqir port in the Persian Gulf opposite Bahrain by way of sea. Throughout these moves, someone secretly told Abdullah that Midhat Pasha’s real motive was to capture him and make him surrender to the Ottoman government. It was for this reason that Abdullah fled from the Ottoman army using clever and humorous

trickery and deceit, and went to Riyadh to reorganise his plans. One of the things he did at this time was to attack Al Shammar and to kill some of their men.

In 1290, Sa'ud attacked Riyadh and defeated his brother Abdullah such that Abdullah sought refuge in Kuwait. Sa'ud also severely lost in a war he had with the 'Utayba tribe and he returned to Riyadh. The state of affairs was more chaotic and disordered than ever. In 1291, Faisal bin Turki's fourth son Prince Abd Al-Rahman, who lived in Baghdad, came to Ahsa and proceeded to gather forces. At that time the surrounding areas were occupied by the Ottomans. Abd Al-Rahman first fought with the Ottoman army that had stopped in the areas near the city of Hufuf, and after that he fought with the Arabs that had helped Midhat Pasha and he besieged them in the Ibrahim and Hisaar forts.

The Arabs mentioned above asked for help from the governor of Baghdad and the governor sent some forces to help them. As a result, Abd Al-Rahman was defeated and he went to Riyadh. It was at this time, in the month of Dhil Hijja 1291, that Prince Sa'ud passed away in Horaimala and Abd Al-Rahman became the ruler and Imam. Imam was the term they used at the time for ruler.

In 1293 Sa'ud's sons revolted against Abd Al-Rahman and he had no choice but to leave Riyadh and join his brother in the 'Utayba desert. His brother, Abdullah, honoured him.

Abdullah then moved towards Riyadh with Abd Al-Rahman and a group of men prepared for war. Sa'ud's sons left Riyadh without fighting and Abdullah stayed in Riyadh. Abd Al-Rahman and Abdullah's other brother, Muhammad, did not oppose Abdullah on any matter.

From then till 1308 A.H., Al Sa'ud was in a very bad state and was becoming weak because of the disputes they had with one another and the conflicts that took place between them. This resulted in Al Rashid defeating them and Muhammad bin Abdullah Al-Rashid managed to get a handhold on Riyadh and take hold of the government of Najd. Abd Al-Rahman and his family, including his young son, went to Kuwait but Muhammad Al-Sabah Shaykh Kuwait stopped them from entering Kuwait. Abd Al-Rahman had no choice but to go to the

desert of Najd (Al-Rabba' Al-Khali). He first went and stayed with Morra household and then later on he stayed with the Ajman tribe (who maintained themselves to be originally Iranian) for some time. He then went to Qatar and stayed there for two months.

Sultan Abd Al-Hamid 'Uthmani planned and wanted to obtain Abd Al-Rahman's friendship and so every month he paid Abd Al-Rahman a regular income of six hundred gold coins. It was for this reason that Shaykh Kuwait gave him refuge and sheltered him. Abd Al-Rahman went from Qatar to Kuwait so that his son, Abdul-Aziz, could save the land of Najd from this anarchy and disorder and form the country of Sa'udi Arabia.

Salah Al-Din Mukhtar quotes the following from Amin Rayhani: "The governor of Ahsa sent a message with Dr. Zakhur 'Azar, on behalf of Sultan 'Uthmani to Abd Al-Rahman. The message said that if he were to obey the Sultan, he would give him Riyadh to rule. However, Abd Al-Rahman apologised for not being able to accept."[1]

Abdul-Aziz bin Abd Al-Rahman, more well-known as Ibn Sa'ud

When Abdul-Aziz and his father were staying in Kuwait, a severe conflict arose between the Ottoman government and the English government, which took place to attract the attention of the Arab Shaykhs.

The Ottoman Sultan, Abd Al-Hamid II, felt that Shaykh Kuwait was inclined towards the English. For this reason he hastily went to help Abdul-Aziz Al-Rashid the Prince of Shammar, who was Shaykh Kuwait's enemy, and informed him that the Ottoman government had no objection to him making Kuwait one of his occupied lands. Abdul-Aziz Rashid became very happy about this because he believed that if he managed to secure this port, it would act as a strong base for the durability of the government of Al Rashid. This was why in 1900 A.D. (1317 A.H.), he and some men who were prepared for war, were ready to attack Kuwait.

The Prince of Kuwait did not have the strength to fight with him. However, he made the Ajman, Sufair and Muntafiq tribes join him by giving them money from the great amount of money he had saved. He

1. Idem, vol. 1, p. 388.

also asked Al Sa'ud to help him and promised to return Riyadh to them. He also made Abdul-Aziz Abd Al-Rahman aware of his aims and intentions. In the end, the Prince of Kuwait, Shaykh Mubarak bin Sabah, and Abd Al-Rahman Al Sa'ud and his son Abdul-Aziz had a meeting and discussions with each other and decided to finish Ibn Rashid off and get rid of him.

In 1318 A.H. in the war that took place between the two sides, the Prince of Kuwait suffered a harsh defeat and Ibn Rashid invaded up to the gates of Kuwait. However, all of a sudden Ibn Rashid had no choice but to retreat because he was confronted by English forces that stood in his way, having reached there via the sea. The English advised him to return because returning would be to his benefit and told him that if he did otherwise they would destroy him with the heavy cannonballs they had with them and would take complete vengeance upon him. Ibn Rashid wanted to get help from the Ottoman Sublime Porte but in negotiations that had taken place between Istanbul and London the English had convinced the Ottoman government not to help Ibn Rashid.

England benefited the most from the events that took place because it got a stronghold on a base in the Persian Gulf on the route to India. The Prince of Kuwait was also saved from being faced by attack.[1]

Abd Al-Rahman and his son Abdul-Aziz carried on living in Kuwait. While they were in Kuwait, Abdul-Aziz attended classes on religious sciences.

Abdul-Aziz's occupation of Riyadh

During the time that Abdul-Aziz was living in Kuwait he was always thinking of the lands of Najd and especially Riyadh, and it tortured him that Al Rashid had occupied these areas and were victorious. He was always upset and was always reflecting on what happened. In the end Abdul-Aziz decided to attack Riyadh and to conquer it after having negotiations with his father and telling Shaykh Kuwait about his plans. On one of the dark nights in 1319 A.H at the age of just twenty one Abdul-Aziz set out on a journey to Riyadh with forty

1. Idem, vol. 2, a summary of p. 25 to 29.

young men who were loyal to him, including his brother Prince Muhammad and his cousin Prince Abdullah.

Abdul-Aziz conquered the city of Riyadh on Shawwal in 1319 after a series of brave operations which are mentioned in detail in Wahhabi sources. On the very day that Riyadh was conquered the *mu'aththin* called out the noon prayer time saying that command is first for God and then for Abdul-Aziz bin Abd Al-Rahman.[1]

After Abdul-Aziz occupied Riyadh he planned to overthrow Al Rashid. In 1320 he occupied the southern part of Najd, and in 1321 he seized Sadir, Washm and Qasim. In the conflicts that took place between Abdul-Aziz and Ibn Rashid the Ottoman government, which supported Al Rashid, intervened. In 1324 the Ottoman Turks left Najd and in the same year Ibn Mut'ab, who was the Prince of Al Rashid, was killed. This gave Abdul-Aziz some peace of mind with regard to Al Rashid.

In 1328, Abdul-Aziz, well-known as Ibn Sa'ud, was situated against three fronts:

1- Al Rashid

2- His uncle's children who had revolted against him in the southern part of Najd

3- Sharif Husayn , Sharif of Maccah

He used the sword as the arbitrator between the first two enemies (*i.e. he fought with them), and he used diplomacy to defeat the third enemy. This was the first time Ibn Sa'ud met with Sharif Husayn .

In 1330, the Ottoman government was continuing to weaken and they were surrounded by governments that coveted their power; as a result, they retired after the defeat their forces encountered when battling against Balkan. Ibn Sa'ud used this opportunity to attack Ahsa and destroyed the influence the Ottomans had in that city. He expanded his influence and power up to the shores of the Persian Gulf and also

1. The explanation of the topic is in the book *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 30 to 43 and in the book *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 227 to 275. The main factor that made Abdul-Aziz achieve victory was that he had many supporters and partisans in Riyadh.

began diplomacy with England which would continue to progress and grow strong.[1]

World War I and afterwards

The First World War started in 1914 A.D (1333 A.H.), and the Ottomans united with the Germans. Ibn Sa'ud wanted to use this opportunity to try to unite the Arab tribes. With this in mind he wrote letters to the Arab scholars and princes; however, no one paid attention to his proposal. Ibn Al-Rashid placed himself under the protection of the Ottoman government and Ibn Sa'ud chose to befriend England.

In 1915 (1334 A.H.), the Qatif treaty was made with England. Due to what was agreed in the treaty Ibn Sa'ud was not allowed to have or make relations with other governments. According to what Hafidh Wahba has written about the Sa'udi politicians and the Sa'udi learned men, this treaty was made because Ibn Sa'ud's advisers at that time were not informed about what was happening in the world and they did not have the required knowledge to make use of this opportunity.

In any case, this mistake was amended in the Jeddah treaty because in this treaty Britain acknowledged Ibn Sa'ud's total independence and his right to make and have relations with other governments or to make a union treaty. Ibn Sa'ud seized Ha'il because of the rights he was given and he destroyed Al Rashid who was his biggest enemy.[2]

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1. *Hafidh Wahbah,* p. 275 and276. –England had a representative in Jeddah from ar 1216 A.H.. *Tarikh Maccah,* vol. 2, p. 101. However according to Ameen Rayhani Ibn Sa'ud did not allow any foreign representative or consul to enter his lands, and the representative who was an intermediary between him and the English foreign office lived in Bahrain.

2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 276-277. –As we have previously mentioned, the relations between England and the Sa'udi government started from 1216 A.H. However, from the start of World War I, their relations increased and the English representatives kept coming to Sa'ud to hold negotiations. At the same time, England had a good relationship with Sharif Husayn and England helped him to revolutionise Hejaz, and an account of this is given in the book of the history of Najd by John Philby (from p. 315 onwards).

Ibn Sa‘ud and Sharif Husayn

Ibn Sa‘ud gradually expanded his influence in Najd and as it was said before he defeated his main rivals, Al Rashid. He also defeated the tribes that were not prepared to peacefully stay in one place under any circumstances. He even put the Ajman tribe, which was one of the most headstrong and brave of the Najd tribes, in its place. When he was reasonably satisfied and not worried about the territory within Najd, he made plans to expand his government which included occupation of Hejaz and Haramain Al-Sharifain.

Meanwhile, another factor came up that could have been very effective in his progress –the formation of Jam’iyyat Al-Ikhwan. Jam’iyyat Al-Ikhwan helped him with a passion and would not refrain from sacrificing anything in order to achieve his aims (even though they sometimes troubled him– we will discuss Jam’iyyat Al-Ikhwan in the chapter related to it). However, Ibn Sa‘ud had a powerful man, Sharif Husayn , in his way and so conquering Hejaz and Haramain Al-Sharifain was not an easy job.

The Sharifs of Maccah

Giving the governors of Maccah the title *sharif* was customary from the fourth Hijrah century. However, before the fourth century of Hijrah they were called governor. The first governor that was appointed by the Prophet (s) was ‘Attab bin Aseed, who was chosen for this position in the eighth year of Hijrah after Maccah was conquered by the Muslim army.

From the time the Prophet (s) passed away until the middle of the fourth century, Maccah’s governors were appointed by the Caliphs (during this period at times people other than the caliphs took over Maccah and in this case it was a different matter). Around 358 A.H, and after the death of the powerful Egyptian governor Kafur Akhshidi, who was chosen by the Abbasid caliphs, and before the Fatimid caliphs occupied Egypt, a Hasani Sayyid[1] called Ja’far bin Muhammad bin Al-Hasan, who was one of the sons of Hasan Muthanna, conquered Maccah. In addition after Al-Mui’zo Ledin

1. Descendant of the Prophet (s).

Allah Fatimi occupied Egypt, Ja'far read a speech in his name.[1] After Ja'far, his son took his place and from then onwards the leadership of Maccah was in the hands of the Sayyids of Al Abi Talib who are well-known as the *ashraaf* or *shorafaa* (*different forms of the plural of *sharif*) of Maccah.[2]

The *sharifs* of Maccah are divided into four groups: three groups ruled Maccah from 358A.H. until 598A.H, and the fourth group, known as Al Qatada, ruled from 598A.H. until 1344 A.H. In 1344 A.H., Ibn Sa'ud threw the last *sharif*, Sharif Husayn , out of Maccah and became the leader of Maccah.

In 922 A.H., the Sharif of Maccah expressed his obedience to King Salim 'Uthmani after King Salim conquered Egypt. As long as the Ottomans were powerful, the *sharifs* obeyed them; however, after the Ottomans started growing weak, the *sharifs*, who pretended that they believed they were King Salim's servants, tried to obtain more influence and power in Hejaz.[3]

The history of the *sharifs* of Maccah is full of conflicts, wars and other matters that have been written about in history books and that which their enemies and their supporters and friends have written are typically not only different from one another but in fact completely opposite.

Sharif Husayn

The last *sharif* of Maccah was Sharif Husayn and he was born in Istanbul in 1270 A.H. When Sharif Husayn's father (Sharif Ali) was chosen to be the ruler of Maccah, he went with his father to Maccah. After his uncle Sharif 'Awn[4], became ruler in 1299, Sharif Husayn

1. A detailed account of this is found in the book *Shifa' Al-Gharam Al-Fasi*, vol. 2, p. 162 to 193.
2. At that time Sharif had the same meaning as the word Sayyid (*i.e. descendant of the Prophet -s-) used in Iran, and no one apart from the Household of Ali ('a) was called Sharif.
3. *Hafidh Wahbah,* from p. 166 onwards.
4. According to what is written in Tarikh Maccah, the Ottomans brought about changes in Masjid Al-Haram at the time of Sharif O'wn. For example at that time there was a section which was specifically for women to pray in and they called it the women's cage and a wall separated this part of Masjid Al-Haram from the rest of

was banished by the Sublime Porte (Ottoman court) to Istanbul because his uncle had requested it. He stayed in Istanbul until 1908 A.D., which was in which he became the ruler of Maccah. Husayn's duty was to establish peace in the Arab cities and try and strengthen the Ottoman influence in those areas.

Sharif Husayn was a humble and just man and he liked the people of Maccah and was sensitive about them, unlike the previous *sharifs* who kept themselves separated from the people and dealt arrogantly with them. Sharif Husayn would defend and protect the interests of the people. He was also highly ambitious and chaste.[1]

Sharif's dispute with the Ottomans and the Hejazi revolution

The Ottoman Turks increased their influence and power in the Arab lands from the tenth century A.H. (at the time of King Salim) and made an important section of the Arab lands, and in some cases all the Arab lands, a part of the Ottoman empire. However, the Arabs were constantly revolting against the Ottomans especially in areas such as Asir, Najd and Syria.

Hafidh Wahba says, "What one cannot deny is that the Ottoman Turks were conquerors and men who were prepared for war. However they were not interested in progress and in making their lands grow and develop. For this reason the Turkish and Arab lands that were under their rule for a long time were moving backwards. This caused the Arabs, who wanted freedom, and the Turks to join one another and form a secret society and to revolt. They revolted until the fall of the Ottoman Sultan Abd Al-Majid and until it was announced by the Ottoman government that a lawful government would be formed."

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the mosque. They removed this separating wall in 1301 A.H., which was at the time of Sharif O'wn.

1. *Hafidh Wahbah,* p. 169-170. –However Salah Al-Din Mokhtar, has described Sharif as a selfish and arrogant man and has said, " When he was banished to Aqaba, I went to see him, and when I shook hands with him he stared at me with his two big eyes which implied 'kiss my hands' but I didn't kiss his hands. He interfered in what the officials of the port did and he interfered in matters that were related to the commander of the garrison. He also issued orders for his son Abdullah, who was in Jeddah", vol. 2, p. 295.

The young Arabs hoped that with their lands being ruled lawfully some improvements and reforms would be made. However, the Ottomans did not change their course of action and their policies and carried on like before. It was still the case that the Ottoman officials were rulers and the Arabs in the Arab lands were ruled, and this disappointed the Arabs. It was for this reason that the Arabs started thinking of obtaining their rights and in addition to the secret societies they also formed political parties. The most important political parties that were formed were:

- The Qahtani Society, established in 1909 in Istanbul

- The 'Ahd Society, a branch of the Qahtani Society established in 1913

- The decentralized Society, established by Sayyid Rashid Ridha and some others in Egypt in 1912

These societies gradually established branches in large Arab cities, such as Baghdad, Damascus, Allepo, Hamas, Hamat and Beirut.

In 1912 and 1913 severe and harsh disputes took place between the Arabic newspapers and the Turkish newspapers. Some of the Ottoman writers would taunt and mock the Arabs in some of their literary works, and they accused the Arabs that were looking for reforms and said that the measures they took were to the benefit of the foreigners and that the foreigners ran these societies.

Moreover, the Arab students living in Paris thought of making a society. They also made proposals with regard to the vindication of the rights of the Arabs, and told the decentralized Society in Egypt about them. The high court of the aforementioned society accepted the proposals and sent representatives to Paris, and the student society was formed in 1913 in the big hall which belonged to Paris's geography society.

At first the Ottomans responded harshly towards these measures and they captured a group of reformists. However, they were faced with the reaction of the people and the closing down of the bazaar and they saw that it was better to respond in another way and to appear to agree with the Arabs. They carried out another plan which was very effective and caused disputes to arise between the reformists. The

aforementioned plan was to give governmental jobs and positions to some of the reformists. For example, they appointed Sayyid Abd Al-Rahman Zahrawi who was the head of the Paris society as a member of the House of Lords. They also gave several other young reformists important jobs.

This made the young Arabs angry with these people and they would say that these people betrayed our trust.

This course of events didn't last long because World War I started[1], and as we shall say later on, the circumstances and the situation of the Ottoman government changed.

The start of the revolution and Sharif Husayn's leadership

There was a rumour among the Turkish high officials that Sharif Husayn was secretly busy taking measures to separate himself from the Turks and that his children, while they were crossing Egypt, helped their father by contacting lord Kitchner (famous English politician) thus preparing the way for their father. There was also a rumour that Sharif's intention was not only to separate himself from the Turks but that he was also trying to take the leadership from them.

To prevent the occurrence of this possible danger, the Ottomans sent one of their men called Wuhaib Bik as a governor to Hejaz to deal with this important matter.

Sharif found out about everything that was happening against him and he attempted to avoid falling in their trap by predicting what they were planning to do. At the same time the Ottoman Government united with Italy in opposition to England and France. The Ottoman government also announced war against these two countries. England pursued its negotiations with Sharif, which had been started earlier by Lord Kitchner, and both sides agreed about their policies.[2]

Since then the British governmental officials exchanged letters with Sharif Husayn . The texts of some of these letters have been

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 171-175.
2. *Hafidh Wahbah,* p. 176 onwards.

mentioned in the books *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin* [1] and *Al-Thowra Al-Arabiyya al-Kubra.* [2]

One of these letters, which has been signed by Sir Arthur McMahon, states that England agreed with and supported the independence of the Arab countries and when the matter of caliphate was addressed they would approve of it. McMahon says elsewhere, "We will openly say once more that the great king of Britain welcomes the decision to give back the leadership to a true Arab who is related to the blessed household of the Prophet (s)."

It seems that the most effective factor amongst the factors which forced Sharif Husayn to oppose the Ottomans was the promise that the English gave to help and assist him.

One should examine the efforts of Colonel Lawrence who was a mysterious Englishman that was in Hejaz in those days. He lived in the Arabian Peninsula for many years and he wore Arab clothes. At the time of the revolution, which took place in Hejaz and at the end of 1334 A.H., Sharif Husayn and his companions asked Lawrence, who was an employee of the intelligence services, to completely inform them of the conditions of the battlefields around Medinah and to find out what type of things were needed in each battlefield so that the necessary forces could be sent to each battlefield. In Medinah Lawrence joined Sharif Husayn's sons, Faisal and Ali, and he investigated the actions of the soldiers and quickly reported what he found in his observations. England's help and aid continuously reached Sharif Husayn. For example, four English planes were sent to help Sharif.[3]

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1. From p. 178 onwards.
2. Volume 1, from p. 125 onwards.
3. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 227. –Amin Momayiz, who was the Iraqi ambassador in Sa'udi at the time of King Sa'ud, says that "I asked Mister Philby (Hajj Abd Allah) about Lawrence. He said that "His father was an Irish lord who had four sons with an English wife, and one of those sons was Lawrence. He completed his studies in Oxford and became a member of the British army. In the First World War he went to the east of Miyyanah and I met him in Jordan. He was reckoned among the English, who helped Sharif Husayn; however, I stayed with him (Ibn Sa'ud) because I was one of the people that hoped Ibn Sa'ud's stars would bring good fortune."
With regard to Lawrence's character and qualities, Philby said, "Few men like Lawrence existed, and he endured hunger and thirst like a camel does, and he was

Conflicts started between the forces of Sharif Husayn and the Ottoman army in Medinah and then in Maccah. At that time the commander of the Ottoman garrison in Medinah was a powerful Ottoman called Fakhri Pasha.

This garrison was regularly strengthened by the Ottoman government. Sharif also was busy gathering forces and had requested help from the princes in the surrounding areas. Sharif's children also tried very hard to help their father both politically and in other ways.

The start of the conflict was on the ninth of January 1916 in Medinah. Fakhri Pasha defeated Sharif's forces; however, the battle continued. Sharif had no choice but to ask for help from England because Fakhri Pasha had a very powerful and strong army. However after holding negotiations for four months the English sent a small number of Egyptian and English soldiers. It seems that Sharif was discouraged with the English since then.

On the one hand, Sharif tried very hard to gather forces and, on the other hand, World War I was at its end. The end of the war meant the end of the Ottoman government.

Sharif Husayn besieged Fakhri Pasha in Medinah when it was close to the end of World War I (towards the end of the war they couldn't help Fakhri Pasha because the Ottomans were in a very distressed state). Then the Turkish forces were summoned to Hejaz and so Sharif Husayn became ruler of Hejaz without any trouble.

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like a mule in tolerating difficulties. He would sleep on dry ground and he placed a stone as his pillow. He also did not pay attention to hot weather, cold weather, hunger and thirst, and I couldn't be like him. After the things he did in the Arabian Peninsula, from building routes and bridges to ascending rulers to the throne, he finally returned to Britain and he served in the air force using a nickname. He was riding a motorcycle when he had an accident and died." Al-*Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, p. 277.

Mr. Filbi, who changed his name to Abdullah or Hajj Abdullah after converting to Islam, was an English Orientalist who had learnt the Arabic and Persian languages. He first served in India but then he was transferred to Iraq and after some time he went to Jeddah. He converted to Islam in 1930. When he was in the Arabian Peninsula he was busy making discoveries and busy with his cartography. Philby had great influence on Ibn Sa'ud and he left behind valuable literary works. He died in 1960 (a summary from the book *Al-Mowsowa't Al-Arabiyya Al-Muyassarah*).

Appointing the supreme judge and the head of the council of shaykhs

Two orders were issued by Sharif Husayn on the seventh of Dhil Hijja 1334 A.H. The people believed these were the introduction of his independence and caliphate. It was also expected that when the people went to congratulate him on the eighth of Dhil Hijja or the eleventh of that month they would put out their hands to swear allegiance to him.

Rashid Ridha, the head of *Al-Manar Magazine*, has mentioned what was written in those two orders in his travelogue as follows:

"In the first order Sharif has appointed Abdullah Sarraj (the Hanafi mufti) as the supreme judge, a minister and the deputy head of the council of ministers.[1] He also has appointed Prince Abdullah (his other son) as a minister of the foreign office and the deputy head of the home office. Furthermore, he appointed Abdul-Aziz bin Ali as the head of the army workforce, and Shaykh Ali Maliki as the minister of education. In addition, he has appointed the previous mayor Shaykh Yusuf bin Salim as the minister of public interests, and the previous head of the holy *haram* as the minister of endowments.

"By giving this order Sharif has in fact formed a council of ministers.

"In the second order and command, which is addressed to the aforementioned Shaykh Abdullah, he orders them to form a high council of shaykhs, and he appoints Shaykh Muhammad Salih Shaybi, who was entrusted with the key of the Ka'bah, as the head of the high council of shaykhs (basically means the National Consultative Assembly and parliament)."

Sayyid Rashid Ridha, who we quoted the above matter from, is one of the people who had done his utmost for the independence and the caliphate of Sharif Husayn and also gave a long speech on these grounds in the presence of Sharif Husayn. However, given all that had occurred, Sharif did not announce his readiness for caliphate. In addition, a few days before, the people had seen that the Friday prayer leader prayed for the Ottoman sultan as usual."[2]

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1. Prince Ali was Sharif's son.
2. Extracted from the book *Rahalat Rashid Ridha*, p. 173 onwards.

For a few years Sharif was caliph to some degree but, as we will say later on, his caliphate didn't last long.

The caliphate of the Ottoman kings

Some of the writers have quoted from European writers that after Egypt was conquered by King Salim 'Uthmani in 922 A.H, Muhammad Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah, who was the Abbasid caliph of Egypt, gave King Salim the caliphate and left the caliphate treasury in his hands. However, the original historical Egyptian and Syrian documents and the writings and the historians that were witnesses of the events that took place have not confirmed this matter. For example Ibn Iyyas who was in Egypt and Ibn Dulun who was in Syria have recorded all the daily events. They even recorded things they had seen or heard from reliable people which were of little importance. However, they did not mention that the caliphate was transferred from the Abbasid caliph of Egypt to King Salim. Furthermore what one finds from reading the writings of Ibn Iyyas is that King Salim believed himself to be caliph before he conquered Egypt (however caliph was not one of his titles and they did not mention him as the caliph in speeches).

The following was written in a letter which King Salim wrote to the Prince of Egypt, who was called Prince Domanbay: "In the same way Egypt's income was sent to the caliphs of Baghdad, send them to me. I am God's caliph on earth and I am more worthy of serving Haramain Al-Sharifain than you are."[1]

The truth is that the circumstances of caliphate had become so corrupt at the time of King Salim that he didn't think that becoming the successor to the Abbasid caliph of Egypt was great and something to be proud of. For example, a few years after the fall of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad a man called Ahmad who claimed that he was one of the descendants of the Abbasids, entered Egypt. The slave princes, who at that time were ruling Egypt, did not have a spiritual influence on the people because they were slave, and so they found it would benefit them if they formed an Abbasid caliphate and accepted that man as their caliph.

1. *Bada'i Al-Zuhur*, vol. 5, p. 105.

In the end, a sort of Abbasid caliphate was created in Egypt which lasted several centuries and was actually a tool and instrument for the Mameluke. When King Salim attacked Egypt and Syria in 922 it was the caliph, Muhammad Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah, who surrendered to King Salim, and so the sultan sent him and another group of people to Istanbul. Muhammad Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah stayed in Istanbul for a few years. In the beginning, the sultan was kind to him but then for some reasons Muhammad Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah was subjected to King Salim's displeasure.

As we have pointed out before, nothing has been found by the researcher in first class sources that mentions that the sultan asked Al-Mutawakil to give the caliphate to him. However in the literary works of the last century sometimes writings related to this matter are seen. For example in the book *Khutat Al-Sham*, Muhammad Kurd Ali quotes from Namiq Kamal that: "The Abbasid caliph openly transferred the caliphate from himself to Al 'Uthman in the Ayasufiyya Mosque (in Istanbul)."[1]

What is clear is that King Salim was not called a caliph until the end of his life (962 A.H.) and he was not mentioned as the caliph in speeches. However, Muhammad Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah was called the caliph.

Ibn Dowloon says at the start of 926, "Muharam's crescent became visible and the caliph was still Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah."[2]

In the event that the caliphate was entrusted in Egypt or Istanbul, it has to have been before this date.

Due to some reasons, the Ottoman Sultans started applying titles[3] such as caliph and Imam Al-Mu'minin and other similar titles to themselves from a few centuries after King Salim which was in the

1. *Khutat Al-Shaam*, vol. 2, p. 221.
2. *Mufakihat Al-Khillan*, vol. 2, p. 90.
3. Philip even says, "Even though some of Salim's successors had the title of caliph and the people would address them using this title, this title was just a formal title and it had no validity outside their realm. The first famous document that gave the title of Caliph to Sultan 'Uthmani and officially recognised and acknowledged his religious influence to be outside the 'Ottoman realm, was the treaty between Russia and Turkey, known as the Treaty of Kochook Kinarji, which was signed in 1188 A.H. corresponding with the year 1174 A.D. *Tarikh Arab*, p. 877.

twelfth century A.H., and it seems it was also from the time of the first Sultan Abd Al-Hamid. Until their fall they were more or less addressed with these titles, however, the Arabs believed that they had obtained the caliphate by force and threats and other unfair means.

The caliphate treasury and historical objects found today in the Topkapi Palace Museum

Another issue that is well known is that the Egyptian Abbasid caliph gave up the caliphate treasury and Prophetic relics (relics related to the Prophet -s-) to King Salim or the sultan took them from him. With regard to the aforementioned objects, it is necessary to explain that at the time of the caliphate of Bani Umayyah in Syria and Bani Abbas in Baghdad and after the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt, the caliphs claimed that the objects and things that were related to the Prophet (s) and the four caliphs were theirs and it was their right to keep them and do what they wanted with them and this was one of the dictums and declarations of their caliphate (*i.e. declaring it to be theirs was one of their mottos). They believed that whoever was caliph had to have the aforementioned objects under their control.

The first document that this writer has seen with regard to the above issue is in the writings of Mas'udi who upon giving an account of the transfer of caliphate from the Umayyads to the Abbasids says, "When Marwan (the last Abbasid caliph) was killed, his killer Amir bin Isma'il went (*and stood) opposite the church that Marwan's girls and wives were in. In front of the church he saw a servant who was standing with a drawn sword.

"Isma'il's companions captured the servant and asked him why he went and stood in front of the church. He said: "Marwan ordered me to cut the throats of his daughters and wives whenever I kill him. If you kill me, you will lose the inheritance of the Prophet of God (s)."

Then the aforementioned servant took them to a sandy area and there he brought out from under the sand the Prophet's (s) striped cloak[1],

1. Tha'alabi says, "The Prophet (s) gave the aforementioned striped cloak to Ka'ab bin Zuhair (after he read out the verses of the famous Qasida called Lamiyya). Mu'awiyya bought it from Ka'ab for 600 Dinars and this is what the caliphs keep so that they are blessed." *Thimar Al-Qulub*, p. 61.

rod and cane, which had been buried by Marwan. Amir bin Isma'il gave them to Abdullah bin Ali who surrendered them to Saffah."[1]

There were other things that the Abbasid caliphs kept too, such as a few hairs from the Prophet's (s) blessed beard, and 'Uthman's Qur'an. The Abbasid caliphs claimed that 'Uthman's Qur'an was in their hands and was protected so that the Moguls could not steal it. When King Salim conquered Maccah, he sent these objects and an uncountable amount of money and other objects from Egypt to Istanbul. According to another saying[2] Al-Mutawakil Ala Allah gave up the few hairs from the Prophet's (s) blessed beard and 'Umar's sword to King Salim.[3] It seems that there was another sword which the Caliphs believed was the sword of the Prophet (s). Judge Rashid bin Al-Zubair says, "The Prophet's (s) sword was one of the things that was in the hands of the Al-Radhi caliph (died in 329)."[4]

The objects which were related to the Prophet (s) and the caliphs were sometimes found in the hands of people who were not caliphs. For example, according to Dulun's writings, "On the eight day of Rabi' Al-Akhir and in 921, several people came from Jerusalem to Damascus and they had with them a broken bowl and a part of a cane, which were both Prophetic (s) relics. A man was carrying them on his head and flags were held up in front of them and the drum was played. The King of all the princes, the judges, the Sufis and others walked behind them and many common people also came to see these relics.

"I (Ibn Dulun) asked about those objects and they said this bowl and this part of a cane was in the hands of Ibn Abi Al-Latif's father and had reached him from the Qalagshandi household. Some whistle-blowers informed the king of their existence so he wanted to borrow them to be blessed by them. Later they found out that the

1. *Muruj Al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 246.
2. *Al-Islam wa al-Khilafa*, p. 257, quoted from Ibn Abbas.
3. A detailed discussion has been given with regard to the dictums and mottos of the caliphs and the origins and sources of these dictums and mottos, in the books *Sobh Al-Ashi*, vol. 3, and *Ma'athir Al-Inafa*, vol. 2, which are both by Qalagshandi. Detailed discussions especially with regard to the stripped cloak are given in the books *Ahkam Al-Sultaniyya Mawirdi* and *Nahyat Ibn Atheer*.
4. *Al-Dhakhair wa al-Tohaf*, p. 190.

aforementioned relics were not the Prophets (s) and were related to Laith bin Sa'id."[1]

Furthermore, according to Ibn Iyyas's writings, when the sultan of Egypt moved from Halab to confront King Salim, the caliph was placed on his right and there were forty noble men around him. Each of the noblemen had a bag made of yellow silk with a Qur'an inside it and they carried them on their heads. Among these Qur'ans was a Qur'an written in 'Uthman's handwriting.[2]

In addition, Ibn Dulun says, "King Salim went to the Amawi Mosque in Damascus and performed his prayers in the shortened form, and he read the 'Uthmani Qur'an (i.e. written in 'Uthman's handwriting)."[3]

To conclude, King Salim most probably located and traced the aforementioned objects and objects like them, whether they were in the hands of the caliphs or elsewhere, and gathered them together. After King Salim they were in the possession of the Ottoman sultans. After the fall of the Ottoman kings and the creation of the Turkish republic, the aforementioned objects were displayed in the Topkapi Palace Museum. The Topkapi Palace Museum is in the city of Istanbul, near the Ayasufia Mosque, and the objects are displayed there for all to see.[4]

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1. *Mufakihat Al-Khillan*, vol. 1, p. 383. -It seems that what is meant here is that they were from Laith bin Sa'ids grave, which is one of the visiting places of the Sunnis in Egypt. Laith was one of Malik bin Anas's close companions and he was one of his narrators (*i.e. he narrated accounts of Malik's life). Malik bin Anas was the leader of the Maliki sect.
2. *Al-Mukhtar min Badayi' Al-Zuhur*, p. 1028.
3. *Mufakahat Al-Khillan*, vol. 2, p. 36.
4. The Topkapi Palace Museum which used to be one of the important palaces of the Ottoman sultans is made up of several parts. In one of these divisions objects that are related to the Prophet (s) and the caliphs are kept. There are other things apart from what we have mentioned that belonged to the Prophet (s) and the caliphs which are kept there, such as the Prophet's hat and his blessed tooth, the Qur'an which 'Uthman's blood was spilt on, and a double edged sword which is said to belong to Amir Al-Mo'mineen Ali ('a) and other similar objects. Let it not remain unsaid that apart from the Topkapi Palace Museum, objects and hair that belonged to the Prophet (s), are kept in other places such as in the central mosque of Delhi and in the burial place of Husayn's ('a) head in Cairo.

Sharif Husayn's government

On Thursday the sixth of Muharram 1335 which corresponds to the third of December 1918, the people swore allegiance to Sharif Husayn as the king in Maccah. The morning of the next day he appointed his three sons to the following posts: Prince Ali as the head of the Council Of Ministers, Prince Faisal as a minister of the Home Office, Prince Abdullah as the foreign minister. He also appointed Shaykh Abdullah Sarraj as the deputy head minister and as the supreme judge. He also appointed the rest of the officials.[1]

Sharif took command; however, although he was liked for some years, the foundations of his government shook because of the following reasons:

1- The English and French government did not accept him as the king of all the Arabs and after a long time only recognised him as governor of Hejaz.

2- He had a powerful and prudent rival, Ibn Sa'ud, who tried to take Hejaz from him using all his forces, but Sharif didn't pay attention to him and didn't even see him as a problem.

3- He did not negotiate and discuss the formation of a united Arab government with any of the Arab princes and shaykhs, and therefore they did not listen to him and his orders.

Therefore, just as before he hurried in beginning the revolution. Before carrying out the preliminary steps and getting the preparations ready, he went to war against the Ottoman forces.[2]

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1. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 230. –The writer of the aforementioned history says, "None of the officials carried out their duties satisfactorily because Sharif Husayn's sons were busy with the army and matters related to the army. Also the positions of the others were not more than a name because Sharif Husayn would directly deal with all the affairs of the government and would bring about changes without informing anyone or discussing it with anyone." *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 231, footnote.

2. Sharif Kooya kept annoying the English until they promised him but they did not carry out their promise and in the middle and the most intense part of the war they abandoned him and joined another. (Refer to the section on Maccah in the books Al-*Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah* and *Muwsuw'at Al-Atabaat Al-Muqaddasah.*

Sharif Husayn and his caliphate

Until 1342 A.H. Sharif approximately ruled however he liked. In this time two of his children had become leaders, one of them was King Faisal and the other was Prince Abd Allah. After World War I King Faisal became leader of Iraq and Prince Abdullah became ruler of eastern Jordon. [1]

In this year (1342) Sharif Husayn was given the title of caliph. This was because when he went on a trip to eastern Jordan, which he had placed as his son's base, representatives of the tribes came and they expressed their desire for him to become caliph. In the end in a meeting which consisted of the representatives, Sharif Husayn was appointed as the caliph of the Muslims and the government of eastern Jordan announced their allegiance to him as a caliph. This took place when the founder of the new Turkey Mustafa Kamal threw the Abbasid caliph out of turkey and announced that the caliphate status is annulled.

When he returned to Maccah to sit on his throne and rule, the title of Amir Al-Mu'minin[2] had not been added to Sharif's title, which was King Al-Arab[3] yet.[4]

Sayyid Abd Al-Razzaq Hasani says the following with regard to this matter: "After the Turks annulled the caliphate status and after they threw the 'Uthmani household out of their lands, talk of King Husayn's caliphate came up. At the same time as these talks, when he (*King Husayn) had gone to Jordan to see his son Prince Abdullah and to discuss the leadership of the new Jordan, a board of councils which were led by the Defence Minister Nuri Sa'id came from Iraq to see him.

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1. After World War II, Iraq found independence and eastern Jordan (or beyond Jordan) changed into a kingdom and Abdullah's name changed to King Abdullah.
2. The commander of the faithful.
3. The king of the Arabs.
4. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 232. Many years before this there was talk of Sharif Husayn's caliphate and the English had agreed with it (which we pointed out earlier. Also many years later, in the *Al-Nahl Magazine* (Mecca edition, on Dhil Hijja 1373); and in the *Jomhoriyya Magazine* (Bombay edition), the Islamic caliphate was talked about again in a series of articles.

The people of Iraq (who Sharif Husayn's son Faisal has just become king of) expressed their agreement to Sharif Husayn becoming caliph by sending telegraphs. Sharif Husayn sent a telegraph thanking them because of the good opinion they have of him. Furthermore King Faisal issued an official announcement in Baghdad on the twelfth of Sha'ban 1342, in which he thanked and showed his gratitude to the people who congratulated his father on the occasion of him becoming the Prince of the believers, and the caliph of the Muslims."[1]

Ibn Sa'ud's attack on Hejaz

Sharif Husayn's reign lasted eight years; however, it became unreliable and weak due to some reasons (some of which we pointed out earlier). Even though it seemed that Ibn Sa'ud had chosen to seclude himself and that he did not want to cause any trouble for Sharif, during this time he made timely preparations for future eventualities, contemplated possible obstacles that might be in the way of an attack on Hejaz and waited for the right opportunity.

Ibn Sa'ud paid greatest attention to two matters. The first: If he were to attack Hejaz, would the English stay quiet? The second: Sharif Husayn's two powerful sons, King Faisal and Prince Abd Allah, would have no choice but to quickly come to the help of their father.

According to the writer of *Tarikh Maccah*[2], what was required for the English to establish their desired colony was separation of the Aqabah port from Hejaz. The English claimed they would make it a part of eastern Jordan which was ruled by Sharif Husayn's son Prince Abdullah.

Sharif had an intense dispute with the English about this and so in return they left him alone with his old rival, Ibn Sa'ud. Finally Ibn Sa'ud decided to attack Hejaz and so on the first day of the month of Dhil Qa'dah in 1342 he formed a society consisting of scholars and tribal leaders which was led by his father Abd Al-Rahman. The latter spoke first and he said, "We have received many letters requesting to

1. *Tarikh Al-Wuzaaraat Al-Iraqiyyah,* vol. 1, a summary of p. 153-154.
2. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 236.

go to Hajj. I have sent those letters to my son Abdul-Aziz. He is your Imam[1] so request anything you want from him."

Then Ibn Sa'ud addressed those that were present and said: "Your letters have reached me and I am aware of your complaints. Everything has an end and everything has to be carried out in its own time." After Ibn Sa'ud's speech, negotiations took place and in the end all those that were present approved of the attack on Hejaz.

After Ibn Sa'ud decided to go to war, he sent an army to Maccah which had Sultan bin Bijaad as its commander. In the month of Dhil Qa'dah 1343, this army conquered Ta'if after fighting for several days.

According to Salah Al-Din Mukhtar, when Sharif Husayn (after he became sultan he was called King Husayn) saw that he was in a dangerous situation he asked the English ambassador to Jeddah for help. The ambassador promised to inform his government of his Sa'ud's request for help.

Sharif returned from Jeddah to Maccah and waited for support and help from the English. The English government replied and told their ambassador that the war between Ibn Sa'ud and King Husayn was a religious war and England did not give itself the permission to interfere; however, England was prepared to act as an arbitrator if it was favourable and beneficial.[2]

Giving the Sultanate to King Ali

At this point in time, a society called Hezb Al-Watani was formed in Maccah. Their main objective was to free Hejaz from the chaotic state it had fallen into. This society had decided that King Husayn should give up his leadership to his son King Ali, and for King Husayn's son to be the only king of Hejaz.

Hezb Al-Watani sent a telegraph stating this on the fourth of Rabi' al-Ula 1343 and suggested that King Husayn should carry out what was written in the telegraph. This telegraph had one hundred and forty

1. The Wahhabis called their leader Imam.
2. Al-*Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 299-300. –Also George Antonius says that the English government had said: "If both sides ask for an arbitrator, we will intervene" (*Yaqazat Al-Arab*, p. 455).

signatures and it was signed by scholars, merchants, nobles and people from other classes.

King Husayn had no choice but to accept and so the next day Hezb Al-Watani informed King Ali, who was in Jeddah, of what was decided. King Ali came to Maccah and on the fifth of Rabi' al-Ula 1343, he became leader. However, this decision did not solve anything because Ibn Sa'ud had the same opinion about King Ali that he had about King Husayn [1], and so he carried on advancing in the lands of Hejaz.

The end of King Husayn

After King Husayn resigned, he moved from Maccah to Jeddah and entered Jeddah on the tenth of Rabi' Al-Awwal. On the eve of the 16th day of the same month he travelled along with his servants to the Aqabah port by ship. After reaching his destination he put in a lot of effort to support King Ali's progress and he had high hopes that his government would be long-lasting.

Meanwhile, the English government warned King Husayn via one of their sea princes to leave the Aqabah port within three weeks and to go wherever he wanted.

At the beginning, King Husayn did not pay heed to this warning but after the occurrence of some incidents (which are not related to our book) he changed his mind and went to the Cyprus Island by ship.

Sharif became so suspicious of the English that he did not eat any food unless it was made by a particular cook who was his own because he was afraid he would be poisoned.

Sharif stayed in Cyprus until 1931 A.D. In 1931 he became ill and when his illness became critical they sent him to Oman (his son's capital city and base) and he died there in the same year. He was buried in holy Jerusalem.[2]

1. *Salah Al-Din Mokhtar*, vol. 2, p. 300 onwards.
2. *Salah Al-Din Mokhtar*, vol. 2, p. 306 and p. 314 to 316.

Ibn Sa'ud in Maccah

Apart from Medinah, Jeddah and the Yanba' Port the whole of Hejaz was occupied by Ibn Sa'ud's forces. Representatives of both sides came and went to try to resolve this matter and settle it peacefully, but nothing was achieved.

On the tenth day of Rabi' Al-Thaniyyah 1343 Ibn Sa'ud travelled from Riyadh to Maccah, intending to perform 'Umrah[1]. He also wrote letters to the surrounding leaders, such as the king of Yemen Imam Yahya, to ask them to send representatives to Maccah so that these representatives of Islamic world could negotiate how to protect Bayt Allah Al-Haram[2] from political bias.

Sa'ud who was accompanied by a great number of soldiers, Najd scholars, a group from the household of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and a number of tribal leaders reached near Maccah within twenty four days. At the mountain of Arafat, Ibn Lu'ay, one of the commanders of his army in Maccah, came along with one thousand people from the Ikhwan sect to welcome him.

Ibn Sa'ud got off his horse and went to Masjid Al-Haram to circumambulate the Ka'bah. He entered Maccah at sunset on the seventh of Jumada al-Ula 1343.

The discussion between the scholars of Najd and the scholars of Hejaz

The next day the scholars of Maccah and their leader Shaykh Abd Al-Qadir Shaybi, who was the man entrusted with the keys of the Ka'bah[3], came to see Ibn Sa'ud. Ibn Sa'ud gave a speech in which he

1. Lesser Hajj.
2. The Ka'bah and the area around it.
3. According to the writings of Azraqi (*Akhabar Maccah*, vol. 1, p. 110), from the time of *jahiliyyah* (the age of ignorance) the honour of having the keys of the Ka'bah was bestowed upon Bani Abd Al-Dar. After Maccah was conquered, their responsibility of taking care of the keys of the Ka'bah was confirmed and authorised by the Prophet (s) in the following way: the Prophet (s) gave the keys of the Ka'bah to 'Uthman bin Abi Talhah, who was from the Bani Abd Al-Dar tribe, and he said: "This is God's trust which is with you and whoever takes it from you is an oppressor." 'Uthman went to Medina and gave the keys to his cousin who was called Shayba and he did this in the presence of the Prophet (s), and so this honour

addressed the scholars and he reminded them of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab's ideology and he said, "Our religious laws are based on Ahmad bin Hanbal's independent reasoning and opinions on religious laws. Now if you accept what we have said come and swear allegiance so that we can practise God's book and the Sunnah of the rightly guided caliphs."

Everyone agreed to swear allegiance. Then one of the scholars of Maccah asked Ibn Sa'ud to organise a meeting so that the scholars of Maccah and Najd can discuss about the *usul al-din* and *furu' al-din*. Ibn Sa'ud accepted this proposal and so on the eleventh of Jumada al-Awwal, fifteen scholars from Maccah and seven scholars from Hejaz gathered together and held discussions. This resulted in the scholars of Maccah issuing a statement saying that "We have agreed with the Najd scholars on some of the matters of *usul al-din*, such as if anyone places an intermediary between himself and God he is a Kafir and he must be made to ask for forgiveness three times, and if he does not ask for forgiveness he must be killed. Also that it is prohibited to build buildings on top of graves, to put lights on around graves and to perform prayers near graves. Furthermore, if anyone calls on to God by using the status of someone (*i.e. by swearing by someone's status), he has committed an innovation, and in Islamic laws innovations are prohibited."[1]

The fall of Jeddah

For around one year, which means till the month of Jumada al-Ula 1344, there were conflicts between Ibn Sa'ud's forces and King Ali, in Jeddah. At the end of this month, King Ali got ready to leave Jeddah and to surrender it to Ibn Sa'ud and in return for this he had some conditions, which were proposed to Ibn Sa'ud by Gordon who was the English consul in Jeddah. On the first day of Jumada Al-Thaniyyah,

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stayed with the sons of Shayba. The keys of the Ka'bah are still with this household today, and they are known as the Shaybi household. Ibn Taymiyyah says *Al-Siyyasa Al-Shar'iyyah,* p. 6: "Abbas asked to have the keys of the Ka'bah from the holy Prophet (s), but the following verse was sent down to return the keys to Bani Shayb:

﴿إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يَأۡمُرُكُمۡ أَن تُؤَدُّواْ ٱلۡأَمَٰنَٰتِ إِلَىٰٓ أَهۡلِهَا﴾

(Surah Nisaa, verse 58).

1. *Salah Al-Din Mokhtar*, vol. 2, p. 343-344.

the consul and Ibn Sa'ud had a meeting together and the consul gave King Ali's seventeen conditions to Ibn Sa'ud and Ibn Sa'ud accepted them. The fourth day of the same month the English consul informed Ibn Sa'ud that King Ali is on a ship called Corn Flower and is heading towards Eden so that from there he can go to Iraq.

On the morning of the sixth of Jumada Al-Thaniyyah, the ship which King Ali was on sailed to Eden. On the seventh day Ibn Sa'ud went to Jeddah, and when he entered the city in the Kandara area he received a great welcoming.[1]

The occupation of Medinah

When Ibn Sa'ud was in the Bahra region (an area between Jeddah and Maccah), the qrince of Medinah Sharif Shahat sent him a special messenger who was carrying a letter. In the letter Sahrif Shahat surrendered and said that he would obey him, and he asked Ibn Sa'ud to send an prince to Medinah. Ibn Sa'ud returned to Maccah and he prepared his third son Prince Muhammad for this job. On the twenty third of Rabi' Al-Thaniyyah, Prince Muhammad and a group of soldiers went to Medinah and told the people of Medinah why they had come.

Prince Ali's garrison commander in Medinah did not surrender. However, because he no longer had provisions or equipment and because Prince Ali had not been able to help him, after two months of resistance, he surrendered and gave Medinah to Prince Muhammad. Prince Muhammad occupied the city of Medinah on Tuesday morning on the 19th of Jumada al-Ula 1344.[2]

Destroying the graves and Holy sites

It was said before that wherever the Wahhabis went they destroyed all the holy sites and graves. They also did this when they occupied the cities of Hejaz.

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1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 357-363.
2. *Salah Al-Din Mokhtar*, vol. 2, a summary of p. 380 to 382. It appears that Jamadi Al-Thaniyyah is correct because Prince Muhammad reached Medina on the 23rd of Rabi' Al-Thaniyyah and King Ali's garrison commander surrendered and gave the city to Prince Ali after two months.

As explained earlier, the first time they occupied Maccah and the surrounding areas, they ruined some of its graves and holy sites. This time they destroyed whatever was left in Maccah and whatever was left in the lands of Hejaz. First they destroyed the dome of Abdullah bin Abbas in Ta'if. Then in Maccah they ruined the domes of Abu Talib who was the grandfather of the Prophet (s), the Prophet's (s) uncle and Khadija Umm Al-Mu'minin[1] (the Prophet's (s) first wife). They also ruined the buildings built where the birth place of the Prophet (s) was and where the birthplace of Zahra ('a) was.

In Jeddah they destroyed Eve's grave. On the whole, they destroyed all the graves around Maccah and Jeddah. When they besieged the city of Medinah, they destroyed Hamnzah's mosque and grave and the cemetery of the martyrs of the battle of Uhud, which were outside the city.

Destroying the graves of the Baqi'

After Maccah was occupied by the Wahhabis, Shaykh Abdullah bin Bulaihid, who was the Wahhabi supreme judge, came to Medinah from Maccah in Ramadhan. He asked the people of Medinah what they thought about destroying the domes and graves. Many of the people did not answer because they were afraid and others said destroying them was necessary.

The late Allamah Hajj Sayyid Muhsin Amin says the following concerning this matter: "Shaykh Abdullah did not intend to truthfully and really seek advice on this religious matter by asking this question, because Wahhabis do not doubt that it is obligatory to destroy all domes and chambers. In fact, they even have this belief with regard to the dome on top of the Prophet's (Saw) holy grave. This is a rule and pillar of their religion and the above question was only asked to calm the people of Medinah. After asking the above question, they destroyed the domes, chambers, graves and whatever was in Medinah and in the areas around it. For example, they destroyed the domes of the Imams buried in the Baqi', where Abbas the Prophet's (s) uncle was also buried, and they destroyed everything. They even destroyed the walls and the boxes on the graves. They also ruined the domes of

1. Mother of the believers, this title was given to the wives of the Prophet (s).

Abdullah and Amina who were the father and the mother of the Prophet (s), and the domes and graves of the Prophet's (s) wives. In addition, they ruined the graves of 'Uthman bin Affan, Isma'il bin Ja'far Al-Sadiq ('a) and the grave of Malik, who was the leader of the Maliki sect. Basically not one grave was left in Medinah and the surrounding areas and in Yanba'i."[1]

The reaction Iran and the other Islamic countries had to the graves being destroyed

When the news that the graves were destroyed spread around the Islamic world, the Muslims counted it as a big incident and a serious and severe act. Telegraphs objecting to this were sent from Iran, Iraq and other places. Lessons were cancelled and work was closed down and mourning ceremonies held as an objection to this matter. What caused the most worry was that it spread that they also shot the dome on top of the Prophet's (s) holy grave (and they even destroyed the holy grave). However, it was made clear later that this was not true and the Wahhabis denied it too.[2]

The Iranian government was very much concerned about this incident and so with the agreement of the scholars they decided to send official representatives from Iran to Hejaz to find out about the truth of the matter and to gather information. The representatives that were sent bore witness to the Iranian government concerning the actions of the Wahhabis.

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1. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyaab*, p. 59 to 61.

2. According to the opinion of the late 'Amili, the Wahhabis feared the consequences of their acts and they were afraid that the Islamic world would rise against them, otherwise they did not believe it was permissible to delay ruining the dome on top of the Prophet's (s) grave. Jabir Ansari points out the story of the Wahhabi attack on Hejaz and the ruining of the graves while giving an account of the events that took place in 1343, in his book *Tarikh Isfahan*, p. 392, and says: " They removed the steel chamber that Hajj Amin Al-Saltana ordered to be made in 1312 A.H. and which took two years to make, and when the Wahhabis wanted to enter the Prophet's (s) holy mausoleum one of them read this verse:

﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ لَا تَدۡخُلُواْ بُيُوتَ ٱلنَّبِيِّ ﴾

"O you who have faith! Do not enter the Prophet's houses…" (Surah Ahzab, verse 53); and so they stopped themselves from committing this disrespect."

The late Allamah 'Amili says when describing and explaining the above matter that: "The scholars of Iran gathered together and they believed that ruining the graves was a significant matter, and we received a telegraph in Damascus which was from one of the scholars of high status of Khorasan which asked for the truth of the matter.[1]

The description of the graves of the Imams in the Baqi' before they were destroyed

The author has given a detailed description in his Hajj itinerary of what the graves of the Imams buried in the Baqi' looked like before 1344 A.H., which is before they were destroyed. He has also presented and shown pictures that are related to the time before they were ruined. Since it is related to what we are talking about we will give a description of the Baqi' as follows:

The graves of the Imams in the Baqi' and some other graves had domes, courtyards, carpets, lights, candle sticks and lanterns until 1344 A.H. Many of the people who saw this place before the mentioned date have described it in detail in their travelogues, and some of them who saw it later on have also shown pictures of the domes and courtyards of the graves in their literary works.

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1. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 60. The representatives of Iran, who went to Hejaz to find out and research about this incident, were supervised by the chosen minister of Iran in Egypt and the Iranian consul general in Damascus (same book, footnote of p. 65). The people of Iran found out about the above mentioned incident at the beginning of the month of Safar 1343 which corresponds to the beginning of Shahrivar 1304. It spread that they shot cannon balls at the Prophet's (s) mosque, and so because of this the 16th of Safar was announced as a public mourning day and everywhere closed up (extracted from the book *Tarikha Beest Saleye Iran* by Aghaya Husayn Makki, vol. 3, p. 365- one must notice that the date which is known as the day when the people of Iran found out about the aforesaid incident, which is recorded to be in the beginning of Safar 1343 A.H, is totally inconsistent with the 19th of Jumada Al-Awal 1344 A.H, which is the date which is quoted from Salah Al-Din Mokhtar. It can only be correct if we believe that the graves were destroyed before the garrison commander that supported Prince Ali surrendered, and this seems to be very unlikely.)
The author Ali Asghar Faqihi of these words remembers very well that when he was a seven or eight year old child and he went near his father in the Faydhiyyah school in Qom, groups of people who were beating their boxes entered the school and the poems they read were related to the Prophet's (s) grave being ruined.

One of these writers is Mirza Husayn Farhani who went to Hajj in 1303 A.H. and he said the following about the graves in the Baqi':

"The Baqi' Cemetery is a large cemetery, which is connected to the gate of the rampart on the eastern side of Medinah. Around it there is a wall which is three cubits and is made of limestone and stone and it has four doors. Two of its doors open towards the western side of the rampart and into the street behind the rampart, and it has one door on the south and its other door is on the east. Its eastern door opens towards Hashsha Kokab (*an area or district), which comprises the streets and gardens outside the city. Most of the graves had a length of one cubit, and this is due to the amount of people that were buried on top of each other. When the pilgrims come to Medinah, the doors of this cemetery are open every day until *maghrib* and whoever wants to go there can go. When it is not Hajj time, it is open in the afternoon on Thursday until almost sunset on Friday, and then it is closed. It reopens only if someone dies and they want to bury that person there.

Four of the twelve Imams ('a) are buried in a large *buq'a*[1] which has eight sides. The inside of the burial chamber and the dome has been whitewashed. It is not evident when and by whom this mausoleum was built. However the Egyptian, Muhammad Ali Pasha, repaired it in 1234 by order of Sultan Mahmud Khan 'Uthmani and from then on this burial chamber and the others in the Baqi' were repaired by order of the Ottoman Sultans.

In the middle of this blessed chamber there is a large chest made of high quality forest wood, and in the middle of this chest there are two other small boxes and there are five people buried in them, these five people are: Imam Hasan ('a), Imam Al-Sajjad ('a), Imam Baqir ('a), Imam Sadiq ('a) and Abbas, who was the Prophet's ('a) uncle. Bani Abbas are the sons and descendants of Abbas. In the middle of the holy shrine and in the fake western arch there is a cemetery. On one side of this cemetery an iron chamber has been built, and they say it is the grave of Fatimah Al-Zahra ('a).

There are several places which are known as the place where the grave of Fatimah Al-Zahra ('a) exists. One is in the Baqi' in a cell which is

1. Building which houses a grave/shrine.

called Baitul Ahzaan[1] and this is why most people read the *ziyarah* of Fatimah Al-Zahra in this cell. Another is in the Baqi' Cemetery where both the Sunni and the Shi'ah read *ziyarah*. In front of the blessed grave of Fatimah Al-Zahra ('a) (in the Baqi'), they have put a gold curtain around the dome and the following was written on this gold curtain: (Sultan Ahmad bin Sultan Ibrahim, 1131.

In this blessed shrine there are no other decorations apart from two small candelabra, a few brass candlesticks and the covering on the floor which is a mat. There are four or five people in charge, who are also servants, and this job is passed on to members of the same family and from generation to generation. These people do not really supervise or take care of the shrine and their real intention is to take money from the pilgrims.

The Sunni pilgrims rarely come to visit this shrine and there is no problem with them doing *ziyarah* and they are not stopped from doing so and they pay no fee. However, the Shi'ah pilgrims are not allowed to enter the shrine without paying a fee and unless they give about one *qeran*[2] to five *Shahis*[3] to the servants every time they come to visit. A portion of the money that is taken from these pilgrims goes to the Haram deputy and a share goes to Sayyid Hasan, who is the son of Sayyid Mustafa and who is the guide of the Iranian pilgrims. After paying the fee there is no need for precautionary dissimulation when reading *ziyarah* and performing prayers. The Shi'ah pilgrims are free to read any *ziyarah* quietly and secretly or openly and loudly, and they are not hurt or abused physically or by foul words. Behind the dome of the Imams of the Baqi' there is a small shrine which is Fatimah Al-Zahra's Baitul Ahzaan."

The late Farhani then describes how the other graves of the Baqi' and the buildings on top of them looked.[4]

Hajj Farhad Mirza who went to Hajj in 1292 A.H. has written the following in his travelogue called *Hidayat Al-Sabil*: " I came out of the Jibra'il door (he means when he came out of the Prophet's (s)

1. House of mourning and sorrows.
2. Monetary unit, which is now replaced by rials.
3. Iranian old coin which is equivalent to one twentieth of a rial.
4. *Safarnameya Farhani*, p. 281 onwards.

Haram he come out from the Jibra'il door) and went to visit the Imams buried in the Baqi' ('a). The tomb of the four Imams ('a) is situated inside a larger tomb. The tomb of the uncle of the Prophet (s), who was called Abbas, is also in the larger tomb. However, the tomb of the Imams which is in the larger tomb is believed to be two sections.

The person in charge opened the door of the chamber and I went inside and went around it and circled it. The side which is below the feet (*of the buried Imams) is very narrow because between the chamber and the tomb[1] there is only a one cubit gap and it is difficult to move there."[2]

Naib Al-Sadr Shirazri, who went to Hajj in 1305 A.H., has written the following in his travelogue which is called Tuhfatul Haramain: "Inside the Baqi' on the right hand side there is a covered mosque, which is like a room, and on top of it has been written:

"هذا مسجد أُبي بن كعب وصلّى فيه النبي غير مرة"

"This is the mosque of Ubay bin Ka'ab, where the Prophet (s) has prayed several times". The graves of Imam Hasan, Imam Zayn Al-'Abidin, Imam Muhammad Al-Baqir and Imam Ja'far Al-Sadiq are all in one chamber.

They say that Abbas bin Abd Al-Muttalib is buried there and there is a relic in front of the graves of the Imams, which is placed facing the wall and is like the royal seat of the chamber and it has curtains. They say that Siddiqah Al-Tahira ('a) (*the Prophet's daughter) is buried there."[3]

Ibrahim Raf'at Pasha was the Egyptian Prince Al-Hajj in 1320, 1321 and 1325. He describes how the graves in the Baqi' were in his detailed travelogue called *Mir'aat Al-Haramain*. He also mentions the famous people from among the companions of the Prophet (s) and others that were buried there. He has said that the "Dome of the Imams buried in the Baqi' is taller than the other domes."

1. *The boxes are inside the *dahrih*.
2. *Hidayat Al-Sabeel*, p. 127 onwards.
3. *Tuhfat Al-Haramein*, p. 227 onwards.

Raf'at Pasha shows pictures of the shrines in the Baqi' and the tallest and the most magnificent dome belongs to the Imams.[1]

While we are discussing what the graves of the Imams in the Baqi' looked like it is fitting to mention that the graves of the Imams of the Baqi' had a courtyard, dome and grave stones from the first Hijrah centuries. Earlier, while explaining about the buildings on the graves we quoted what was written on the gravestone of Zahra ('a) and the Imams, who are buried in the Baqi', from Mas'udi's book *Muruj Al-Dhahab* and from Samhudi's book *Wafa' Al-Wafa'*. What confirms the fact that in the first Hijrah years a courtyard and dome existed on the graves of the Imams buried in the Baqi' is the description Ibn Athir gives of the events that took place in 495. He says that in 495 an architect, who was from the people of Qum, was sent by Majd Al-Mulk Balasani (Barawastani is correct because this name is related to an old area in Qum called Barawastan) to repair the dome on top of the grave of Abbas and Imam Hasan ('a). This architect was killed by Manthur bin Amara, who was the Prince of Medinah. This shows that in the fifth Hijrah century there was a dome and courtyard on top of the graves of the Imams of the Baqi' and the Prophet's (s) uncle, and that it needed to be repaired. Based on the way these buildings are built, many years have to pass for these buildings to require repairing.

Samhudi, who died in 911, gives a detailed description of what the graves of the Baqi' looked like from the first Hijrah centuries till the beginning of the tenth century.

For example Samhudi says, "There is a dome on top of the grave of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet (s), and Hasan Ibn Ali ('a) that reaches the sky."

Ibn Najjar has said, "It is a big and tall dome, and its building is old. The building has two doors and everyday one of them is opened." Ibn Najjar has not mentioned the name of its builder but Madari has said, "Its builder is (*was) Khalifat Al-Nasir Ahmad bin Al-Mustadha."

"What Madari has said does not seem to be true because Ibn Najjar and Nasir were contemporaries, and Ibn Najjar says the building is old and I (Samhudi) saw that the following: 'Mansur Mustansar Billah

1. *Mir'aat Al-Haramein*, p. 227.

gave me orders to build it' had been written (*by the builder) on top of the aforementioned site but his name and the date were not mentioned."

Samhudi then says, "The grave of Abbas and Hasan ('a) are higher than the ground. The cemetery is large, with beautiful tablets and verses of elegies which are decorated using nails that are arranged in the most beautiful star shapes and attached to the walls." Samhudi also mentions other buildings that existed in the Baqi'.[1]

The sixth century world explorer Ibn Jabir has also described what the grave of the Prophet's (s) uncle and the grave of Imam Husayn looked like. He has also described how tall the dome was and the decorations inside it.[2]

Forming an Islamic society to determine what to do regarding the holy lands

After occupying the two holy cities of Maccah and Medinah, Ibn Sa'ud saw more clearly how to determine what should be done with the holy lands, how to become the leader of these two cities, and how to carry out his thoughts and opinions with the agreement of the Muslim world. Therefore, on the tenth of Rabi' al-Ula 1344 he invited all the independent Islamic countries, such as Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Yemen, to hold an Islamic congress and meeting and send their representatives to take part. In addition, the leaders of other countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Eastern Jordan, and Prince Abd Al-Kareem Raifi and Hajj Amin Husayn i, who was the great Mufti of Palestine, were invited. Furthermore he also invited the Baay's[3] of Tunis, Damascus, Beirut and other Islamic spokesmen.

Most of the Islamic countries did not accept his invitation and only a few countries took part in the formation of this society. The Muslims of India participated[4], and they proposed that in Hejaz a republic government, which all Muslims participate in, should be created and

1. *Wafa' Al-Wafa' Bi Akhbaar Dar Al-Mustafa*, vol. 3, p. 916.
2. *Rehla* by Ibn Jubayr, p. 154.
3. Baay was a title that the Ottoman sultans gave to some of the governors of the surrounding areas.
4. At that time there was a great number of Muslims in India because India and Pakistan had not separated yet.

they agreed to pay an important part of the expenses[1]. This proposal was not practical for different reasons.

The reason why Iran's representative did not take part

According to what the late Allamah 'Amili has written, the government of Iran did want to send its representative to take part in the meeting; however, when they found out that the graves of the Imams of the Baqi' were destroyed they changed their minds and as a protest didn't send their representative. In addition, they stopped people from going to Hajj just in case the Iranian pilgrims might face any danger. In 1346 A.H., they gave people permission to go to Hajj because they were assured that there was no longer any danger.[2]

Ibn Sa'ud's leadership in Hejaz

After nothing was achieved and solved at the last Islamic meeting, thirty noblemen came to Maccah from Jeddah. There, with the unanimous agreement of thirty of the personalities of Maccah a society was created. On the 22nd of Jumada Al-Thaniyyah 1344, they agreed unanimously to swear allegiance to King Abdul-Aziz Al Sa'ud and to accept him as the king of Hejaz. They then notified him so that he could appoint a time that they could come to swear allegiance to him.

On Friday the 25th of the above month, the people gathered in front of the Al-Safa door (one of the doors of Masjid Al-Haram) after the Friday prayers. Ibn Sa'ud came one hour after noon and, after carrying out some rituals, one of his advisors Sayyid Abdullah Damlooji read the conditions of the allegiance[3] to the people. Then one hundred and one cannon balls were fired.

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1. *Salah Al-Din Mokhtar*, vol. 2, p. 385-386.
2. *Kashf Al-Irtiyyaab*, p. 61-62. In the solar year 1308, a committee was sent from Sa'udi to Iran and political relations were established between the two countries.
3. A copy of the pledge of allegiance that was read out when one of the members of the Sa'ud household was chosen for leadership or sultanate will be given when discussing the sultanate of Malik Sa'ud. The text inside the letter related to swearing allegiance which the people of Hejaz sent to Ibn Sa'ud, and Ibn Sa'ud's reply are all mentioned in the book *Muluk Al-Muslimin Al-Mua'sirun*, vol. 1, p. 136.

This is how Ibn Sa‘ud received the title of ‘the king of Najd and Hejaz’. The first government which recognised him officially was the United Soviet Republic. After that England, France, Holland, Turkey and gradually all the other governments officially recognised him as the King of Najd and Hejaz.

Sultan Abdul-Aziz tried very hard to stabilise the situation of his country and government. He made contracts with many governments and he quieted down and dealt with many revolts, such as Faisal Al-Dawish’s revolt. He also suppressed his opponents. Once when he was going round the Ka’bah in Masjid Al-Haram an attempt on his life was made by four men from Yemen from the Zaydi sect, but he escaped and nothing happened to him. By putting the country in order, he finally achieved peace and security in his country. This hadn’t really been accomplished before in these lands.[1]

Ibn Sa‘ud and the Idrisis

After Hejaz was occupied by Ibn Sa‘ud, Imam Yahya (the Imam of Yemen) attacked the Asir region (an area in Najd) ruled by Sayyid Hasan al-Idrisi and plundered everything. The Idrisis feared that the attack by Imam Yahya would cause the emirate of the Al Idris to fall, so they wrote a letter to Ibn Sa‘ud and they sent a representative to him. Finally, on the 14th of Rabi’ al-Ula 1345 a treaty was made between the two sides and as a result of this contract the Asir region was from then on under the protection of Ibn Sa‘ud. The treaty had 14 articles. In the second article the right to hold negotiations and make political contracts with any of the governments of the world without the permission of the king of Najd and Hejaz, was taken away from the Idrisi prince. In the third article the Idrisi prince no longer had the right to announce war or to make a peace treaty unless it was with the permission of the king of Najd and Hejaz. In the sixth article managing home affairs, attending to the matters of the tribes living in Asir, removing officials from office and appointing them and other similar jobs were given to Idrisis.

1. The details about the incidents that took place in the first years of Ibn Sa‘ud’s leadership in Hejaz and Najd have been mentioned in the book *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa‘udiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 386 onwards.

In the month of Rajab, 1351 A.H, the Idrisis revolted against Ibn Sa'ud. Ibn Sa'ud sent some forces from Hejaz and Najd to Asir and the situation in that area calmed down. Ibn Sa'ud made the most of this opportunity and announced the end of the leadership of the Idrisis in Asir and that from then on Asir would be considered to be one of the provinces of the Sa'udi country. Ibn Sa'ud assigned two thousand Sa'udi riyyals a month for Sayyid Husayn Idrisi on the condition that he would not live in Asir.[1]

The contract to extract oil

One of the most important things that Sa'ud did was to make a contract to extract oil in the eastern region of the Ahsa area (Dhahraan).

The first contract between the Sa'udi government and the Arab-American oil company, which was later called Aramco, was made on the 10th of May 1933. Shaykh Abdullah Sulayman signed the contract on behalf of the Sa'udi Arabian government, and Lloyd Hamilton signed on behalf of the company. [2]

The naming

On the 17th of Jumada al-Ula and in 1351 A.H., Sultan Abdul-Aziz Al Sa'ud issued an order, which was numbered 2716, stating that from the 21st of the above month his country will be called Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyya Al-Sa'udiyya. After this change of name, the advisors and dignitaries of the state deemed it advisable for Soldan Abdul-Aziz to appoint his eldest son King Sa'ud as the crown prince.

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1. *Muluk Al-Muslimin Al-Mua'sirun*, vol. 1, p. 136-138. –The text of the treaty has been mentioned in this book.
2. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 2, from p. 477 onwards. In 1935 it was made clear that the amount of oil that was in Dhaharan was a commercial amount, and a lot of oil shot out of one of the oil wells. In 1938 operations were carried out for the extraction of oil, and the next year the oil amounted to an average of one million tons. (*Tarikh Najd Filbi*, p. 389). According to Philby (*Tarikh Najd*, p. 385), in 1923 Ibn Sa'ud, who was encouraged by Sir Percy Cox (famous English politician), gave the Public Eastern Oil company the license to search for oil in all the eastern regions and areas and made extremely easy conditions for them to be able to do this. Cox wanted to give this license to the English and the Iranian oil company but this did not happen.

On the 16th of Muharram 1352, the council of ministers and the National Consultative Assembly prescribed that the people should swear allegiance to Prince Sa'ud as the crown price, and the king issued an order with regard to this decree.

The story of Abu Talib Yazdi

In the month of Dhil Hijja 1362, which corresponds to the solar year 1322, the killing of Abu Talib Yazdi took place in Maccah and because understanding this and similar stories that have occurred repeatedly catches the interest of readers, we will proceed to explain the story and its main source which is one hundred year old:

On the 14th of Dhil Hijja 1362 A.H., the following statement was issued in the holy city of Maccah:

"بلاغ رسمي رقم ٨٢– جريمة منكرة :

القت الشرطة القبض في بيت الله الحرام في يوم ١٢ ذي الحجة ١٣٦٢ على المدعو عبده طالب بن الحسين الإيراني من المنتسبين إلى الشيعة في ايران و هو ملتبس باقذر الجرائم واقبحها وهي حمل القاذورات وهو يلقيها في المطاف حول الكعبة المشرفة بقصد ايذاء الطائفين واهانة هذا المكان المقدس و بعد اجراء التحقيق بشأنه وثبوت هذا الجرم القبيح منه فقد صدر الحكم الشرعي بقتله وقد نفّذ حكم القتل فيه في يوم السبت"

"On the 12th day of Dhil Hijja 1362, the police in Bayt Allah Al-Haram captured a man called Talib bin Husayn Irani, who was one of the Shi'ahs of Iran. He committed the ugliest acts because he carried filth with him and he intended to annoy and inconvenience the people circumambulating the Ka'bah and he would spill them (*the filth) in the circle of the circumambulation, intending to insult and disrespect that holy place. After researching and proving that he committed this

ugly sin, a religious verdict was issued for him to be killed and on Saturday the 4th of Dhil Hijja the verdict was carried out."[1]

This news reached Iran in a vague way and it made everyone very upset and surprised. No one knew about the truth of the matter until the Iranians who went to Hajj that year returned and explained what happened. They said that while circling the Ka'bah, Abu Talib Yazdi felt ill and sick and he felt like vomiting. He held his clothes in front of his mouth so that the circle of the circumambulation would not get dirty and in the end some of his vomit spilled from the corner of his clothes.[2]

Several Egyptian and Sa'udi people who were circling captured him and turned him into the police. These few people bore witness in court that he had dirt with him and he polluted the area of circumambulation.

There is an unclear matter about why those people that were circling the Ka'bah and saw Abu Talib in that way doubted him and thought that he had the intention to dirty and insult Bayt Allah Al-Haram. Also, was this matter just imagination and suspicion on the part of his accusers or did those few people make the accusation up on purpose and for a particular reason?

This issue seems to be unclear and twisted, and it was not clear if it was an accidental matter or that there was a previous record of it. The other subject which caused even more astonishment and surprise was how one might think that a Muslim and sensible man, who had endured great tortures and problems which existed in those days on the way to Hajj[3], and had achieved this great success (*to be able to

1. The Arabic text of the statement is from the Maccah edition of the *Umm al-Qura* newspaper, dated the 20th of Dhil Hijja 1362 (number 990, year 20).
2. According to the rumour that went round and what people said, Abu Talib put his Ihram clothes in front of his mouth, but this seems to be far from the truth because on the twelfth of Dhil Hijja all the pilgrims had taken off their Ihram.
3. The incident related about Abu Talib took place in the middle of World War II, and at that time the living conditions were very difficult and travelling to Hajj was particularly difficult. Most of the Iranians who wanted to go to Hajj would try to go to Kuwait anyway they could. Then if it was possible they would travel with a lorry on the desert route to Najd and Hejaz, which was very a difficult route to travel on. What we mean to say is that Abu Talib managed to get himself to Hajj by enduring all these difficulties and then this unclear and unpleasant incident occurred for him.

go to Hajj) and had obtained his biggest and greatest religious wish, could intentionally and purposely commit such a disastrous act and the worst possible act one can commit?

Another question which arises is how was it proved to the judges of the court that he had such an intention? When it seems neither he understood the language of the judges nor did the judges understand his language. Who defended him? Did he have a defence lawyer that knew the Persian language? With all these matters and questions that exist, the time between the accusation and the verdict being carried out was only two days, given that according to the religion of Islam when giving the verdict of death one has to make sure in every way and take all safety measures so that that an innocent person's life is not taken away from him or he is not killed because of spite or grudge.

In any case, the motive behind killing Abu Talib was unclear to the writer (*Ali Asghar Faqihi, i.e. me) until a few years ago when he was studying the book *Kholasat Al-Athar* and was reading its account of the life of the great Shi'ah scholar Shaykh Hur 'Amili who lived in the Safavid era. In this section of the book (*Kholasat Al-Athar*) he came across a similar incident to the Abu Talib Yazdi incident. As a result, he realised and noticed that Abu Talib's story had a deep root, and if one were to do some research, he might find similar stories to it.

According to the statement released by the foreign office on the 27th of Dey (*Persian month) 1322, in that year around six thousand Iranians went to Hajj and unpleasant incidents occurred for them. For example a number of them were arrested by the Sa'udi government. When Abu Talib was killed his family was in Maccah, and after Abu Talib's death the Iranians were subjected to abuse and injustice and conflicts took place. Furthermore, on the 1st of Bahman of the same year, the late Ayatullah Isfahani sent a telegraph to the Iranian government and asked them to pursue the matter and to call the committers to account for what they did.
The incident where Abu Talib was killed caused a cut off in the political relations between Iran and the Sa'udi country until the solar year 1327 when relations were established again. From then on the conditions of the Iranian pilgrims gradually improved, and the problems were solved. After Iran and the Sa'udi country reconciled, a committee was sent from Iran to Maccah along with the pilgrims. The head of the committee was Sayyid Muhsin Sadr Al-Ashraf Mahallati who was also appointed as the Amir Al-Hajj, and he has written about this journey in detail in his biography from p. 466 onwards.

Summary of the story related to Shaykh Hur 'Amili in Maccah, and the calamitous conspiracy that was carried out

In 1087 or 1088 A.H. (more than three hundred years ago), Shaykh Muhammad bin Al-Hasan also known as Hur 'Amili entered Maccah. In this year the Ottoman Turks killed a group of Iranians accusing them of making the Ka'bah dirty. Shaykh Hur sought refuge from Sayyid Musa who was one of the nobles of Maccah. Sayyid Musa sent him to Yemen with one of his people.

The writer of Kholasat Al-Athar, says when mentioning the above story that "This (*i.e. making the Ka'bah dirty) act is one of the most obscene public disgraces, and I do not think anyone who has heard of Islam or has a brain would do such a thing."

The story is that some of the servants of Bayt Allah Al-Haram, noticed that the Ka'bah had become dirty and this news spread everywhere, and many things where said about it. The noblemen of Maccah, the Sharif of Maccah called Sharif Barakat and Maccah's judge, who was called Muhammad Mirza, gathered together and discussed this matter. They finally reached the conclusion that this was done by the heretics and so they decided to kill whoever is known to be a heretic, and they ordered this to be carried out.

The Ottoman Turks and a group of the people of Maccah came to the Haram and killed five Shi'ahs. One of those that were killed was Sayyid Muhammad Mu'min, who was an old, pious and devout man.[1]

The writer of the book *Tarikh Maccah* has written this story as follows: "In the month of Shawwal in 1088, one morning the people saw that the Ka'bah was dirtied with something which looked like excrement. The people accused the Shi'ah of this because of an old belief they had (*about the Shi'ah). I do not know how their minds allowed them to believe in such a thing. The people of Maccah, the

1. *Kholasat Al-Aathar fi 'Ayan al-Qarn Al-Hadi 'Ashar*, vol. 3, p. 432, 433. Here Mir Muhammad Mu'min is meant instead of Sayyid Muhammad Mo'min, who was the son of Muhammad Husayn Astaraabadi's son, and who went from Iran to Hejaz and there neighboured Bayt Allah Al-Haram. Khatoon Aabadi says in the book Waqa'i''e Al-Sineen, (p. 533) that: "In the year 1086 (two or three years before the death of the above Sayyid), on my trip to Hajj I got permission from him to be able to narrate (*what happened)".

Turks that were from the surrounding areas and a group of the pilgrims attacked a group of Shi'ahs. They showered some of the Shi'ahs with stones and they killed some others with a sword."

Quoting from *Tarikh 'Asami*, Sayyid Dahlan says, "Tarikh saw with his own eyes that what had made the Ka'bah dirty wasn't ordure but was different types of vegetables mixed with lentils and oil that was rotten, and so it gave off an unpleasant odour."[1]

Sayyid Dahlan continues and says that "Whether these words (*i.e. what I have quoted) are correct or incorrect, the truth is that Islam requires a type of friendship, and all the sects who have different beliefs from each other should gather together and walk on one path. The followers of this true religion must not choose to walk on separate paths because of the thoughts and beliefs they have about their opponents."

After mentioning the above matter the writer of *Tarikh Maccah* says the following: "I am upset that the common people (in these areas) think that the Iranian Shi'ah's believe that their Hajj is accepted on the condition that they dirty the Ka'bah." He then continues and says: "If we followed logic and intellect, and we thought correctly we would realise that due to this belief and thought, every year the Ka'bah would be dirtied thousands of times in proportion to the number of the Iranian Shi'ah. However, the truth of the dirtying and what we see in the sources proves otherwise. But what can be done, because when we (*i.e. humans) are dealing with our enemies we push away our minds and intellect." [2]

Another case

The writer of *Tarikh Maccah* says once again that: "At the time of Sharif Muhammad bin Abdullah and in 1143, a tragic event took place for the Shi'ah, which I believe is one of the tragic events that the Muslims have suffered from and is a result of the religious prejudice and misunderstanding that exists between different sects."

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1. This matter confirms that, based on what was rumoured years ago, there were visible and invisible hands trying to make disputes between the Muslims. When Abu Talib's incident happened, it was also said that these visible and invisible hands existed.
2. *Tarikh Maccah* by Ahmad Al-Saba'ei, vol. 2, p. 40.

In the above year, the group of Shi'ah people that were going to Hajj reached Maccah later then the days of Hajj and so the people of this group had no choice but to stay in Maccah until the time for the Hajj rites of 1144 came up, so that they could perform their rites. (Throughout this time) some of the common people revolted because they thought that the aforementioned Shi'ah had dirtied the great Ka'bah. After the common people revolted, the army also became involved and then they went together to the judge's house. The judge fled because he was afraid of their seditiousness. The people who were revolting went to the house of the Mufti and they pulled him out of his house. They also pulled other scholars out of their houses and they went to the minister of Maccah. They told the minister to take action against some people, but it was not clear who 'some people' were. In the end they managed to convince the minister to issue an order to throw the Shi'ahs out of Maccah. They then came to the bazaar and they called out that the Shi'ahs must be thrown out, and their houses must be destroyed. The next day they went to the Prince of Maccah and they asked him to certify the minister's order. At first the Prince refrained himself from doing so but in the end because of the sedition of the common people he had no choice but to do what they wanted him to do.

Some of the Shi'ah went to Ta'if and some went to Jeddah until the revolt died down. The Prince of Maccah captured the heads of the sedition, and he gave permission for the Shi'ah to return.

Quoting from *Tarikh Radhi*, Dahlan says, "What happened was a result of the bigotry of some rogues and scoundrels and Ottoman Turks, and that the real residents of Maccah did not agree with these affairs. It is the ignorance of the common people that always causes a division between the Muslims and causes the Muslims to dispute about their beliefs."[1]

The main cause of these events

When studying the series of wars that took place between the Iranian and Ottoman government from the beginning of the formation of the Safavid Dynasty, the method in which the Ottoman scholars chose to

1. Idem, p. 71.

oppose Iran is noteworthy. As enemies, they did not avoid making accusations or attributions about the Iranians, and they even believed that going to war with Iran was to participate in holy war. They gave *fatwas* stating that it was permissible to kill the Shi'ah and even to kill Iranians who were not Shi'ah, and that it was permissible to take their women and children captive and sell them.

At the beginning of these issues and accusations, which was at the time of Shah Isma'il the founder of the Safavid Dynasty, and in when the wars started between the two sides, the Ottoman scholars would hold meetings and sessions, where they would curse Shah Isma'il.

Ibn Dowloon, an Ottoman writer and a contemporary of Shah Isma'il and King Salim 'Uthmani, says: "In 923, I led three hundred and sixty readers in the reading of Surah An'am for forty days in the central Amwai Mosque in Damascus. When the readers reached a place between two names of God, they would curse Sufi Isma'il (i.e. Shah Isma'il)."[1]

At the same time (i.e. in 923) they held gatherings in eight different places in Cairo for King Salim's victory, and they read the whole Qur'an in these gatherings. These eight places were: the cemetery of Shafi'i, Laith, Sayyida Nafisa, Shaykh Omar bin Faridh, Abu Al-Hasan Dainoori, Shaykh Abu Al-Kheir Kalibati, and also in Miqyaas and Jami' Al-Azhar.[2]

When they achieved nothing by cursing Shah Isma'il and praying for King Salim, they announced that Iran was the territory of the enemy and land of warfare so that they could achieve what they wanted.

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1. *Mofakahat Al-Khallah Ibn Tulun*, vol. 2, p. 74

" و اذا وصلوا الى بين الجلالتين دعوا على الصوفى المذكور".

What is meant by this is when finishing the recital (*i.e. reading) of Surah An'am when they reached verse 124, which has the two names of Allah in succession

﴿وَإِذَا جَآءَتۡهُمۡ ءَايَةٞ قَالُواْ لَن نُّؤۡمِنَ حَتَّىٰ نُؤۡتَىٰ مِثۡلَ مَآ أُوتِيَ رُسُلُ ٱللَّهِۘ ٱللَّهُ أَعۡلَمُ حَيۡثُ يَجۡعَلُ رِسَالَتَهُۥۗ﴾،

after reading the first ayah they would curse and if they wanted to pray (*benediction) then they would pray and then when they said the second ayah they would continue to read the rest of the Surah.

2. Ibn Yaas, vol. 5, p. 258-259.

Using this announcement, they were able to encourage and exhort the Ottoman people and army to go to war with the Safavid kings. It was in these days that King Salim's judge asked the scholars of the country to issue *fatwas* which urged the killing of Shah Isma'il and stated that killing him was religiously lawful. Apart from this, King Salim also says in a letter that he wrote in Tabriz (in which he describes his attack on Iran and fighting against Shah Isma'il Safavi as a sort of a heroic act and event) that: "We invited the learned *faqihs* and famous scholars and we asked them to give us religious guidance and advice concerning the war with Shah Isma'il. Everyone unanimously agreed that whoever tried to fight with Shah Isma'il's army, his efforts were appreciated and whoever fought to push them away, had carried out a pious act. Furthermore, the scholars ruled that they were unbelievers, atheists and apostates."[1]

Shah Tahmasb Safavi has pointed this matter out in his memoirs and has explained it as follows: "I appointed Siyyadat Panah Prince Shams Al-Din as the ambassador. After he went to Istanbul, Rustam Pasha and a group of defeated people made complaints, and they exchanged these complaints with each other in a meeting and they didn't achieve anything good or constructive out of this meeting. They wrote a long letter and sent it with the aforementioned Siyyadat Panah. The letter said that the scholars of Rome[2] and the Shaykhs here have all issued a *fatwa* stating that it is permissible to kill the family and wives of all the people of the east, whether they are soldiers, farmers and peasants, Armenian or Jewish, and that going to war with them is like going to holy war.

I said that this *fatwa* is a really good *fatwa* (*he is using sarcasm), given that we know about fasting, prayer, Hajj, Zakat and all the necessities of religion and we carry them out. Let God be the arbitrator between us and them."[3]

These issues and events continued to occur until the time of Nadir Shah Afshar. The question asked in the Istanbul Turkish language

1. *Ibn Dowloon*, vol.2, p. 50. –We will point out later that issuing these *fatwas* was an order and issuing such *fatwas* was common at the time of the Ottoman sultans.
2. Rome here means Ottoman which at that time was situated in eastern Rome.
3. *Tathkireya Shah Tahmasib*, p. 64.

from Shaykh Abdullah, the Mufti of Constantinople, with regard to the Afghan attack on Iran and the *fatwa* that he gave is available.[1]

A summation of the above mentioned *fatwa* is that the country of Iran is the enemy territory and is the land of warfare, and the rules which concern apostates are carried out with regard to them (*i.e. it's people).

This *fatwa* was issued at the time when Mahmud Afghan was the leader of Iran and when there was great chaos and anarchy and the situation was totally out of order in Iran. The Ottoman king believing that there was an opportunity to achieve what he wanted here, sent an expensive army to Iran and ordered the commander of the army not to disturb and bother Mahmud Afghan.[2]

At that time the aforementioned *fatwa* was issued to provoke and mislead the soldiers.

A noteworthy matter is that this *fatwa* was so groundless, unsystematic and far from the basic principles of religion and human nature, that even with all the favouritism and trust the people had in their Muftis, they were not able to carry out the *fatwa* when they were supposed to. When they met the people of Iran and their families, they did not see the slightest thing that substantiated such a harsh and repulsive *fatwa* to be issued about them and so they did not give themselves the right to believe that these people were apostates and non-Muslims.

The following story by an Ottoman writer confirms what we have said:

"On their way, the Ottoman armies attacked an Isfahani group of people who were travelling to go to another area. Acting out Shaykh Al-Islam's *fatwa* they killed the men and they took the women of the households of the Alawi[3] Sayyids and nobles and families of the princes of Iran captive. However, they saw that the women were very

1. The text of the question and answer is found in *Hadiqat al-Zawra'* by Ibn Al-Suwaidi, p. 95.
2. Ibid, p. 94. These preparations and arrangements flew out of the window when Nadir Shah came and Shaykh Al-Islam's *fatwa* did not have any effect apart from causing divisions between the Muslims.
3. Descendants of Imam Ali ('a).

chaste and religious and exaggerated in their efforts to keep away from the eyes of *namahram*[1]. After observing this, they doubted and were indecisive as to whether they could take such women as captives and slaves. In the end they returned them to Kermanshah respectfully and honourably and they handed them over to one of the important men of the city who was called Mirza Abd Al-Rahim."[2]

The effects of these *fatwas* passed the Ottoman realm and reached Transoxiona (today's Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). We see that even at the time of the Qajar Dynasty the people from Transoxiona would ask the Ottoman king, who they called Khalifat Al-Khulafa, whether it was permissible or not to take the Shi'ah captive and to sell and buy them.[3]

Without a doubt and in all cases, the Ottoman and Uzbek men or soldiers that met the people of Iran would see that they were different from what they had believed about them. Their beliefs were due to the incorrect teachings to which they were subjected.

Banning the Iranians from going to Hajj

Apart from the aforementioned *fatwas* the Ottomans took other measures towards enmity with Iran. For example, in 1042 A.H the Ottoman king ordered the Iranian people to be banned from going to Hajj.[4] So that this order would be carried out they announced it in the bazaars and told the Iranians who had come to perform their Hajj rites that year to tell their brothers not to come to Hajj the following year.

After mentioning the aforementioned story, the author of the book *Tarikh Maccah* says, "I did not find any information which made it clear why the Iranians were banned from going to Hajj apart from the historic events that took place at that time. The historic event being that in 1033 the Iranians managed to take Baghdad out of Ottoman hands and they threw the Ottomans out of the city. It was occupied by

1. Men who are not allowed to see women without their Islamic covering due to absence of appropriate family relationship.
2. *Ibn Al-Suwaidi*, p. 96.
3. *Nasikh Al-Tawarikh*, the vol. related to the Qajar and in the events that took place in 1228.
4. At that time, Hejaz was occupied by the Ottomans.

the Iranians until 1042 when Sultan Murad 'Uthmani's army occupied Baghdad once again."[1]

It is likely that the Ottomans banned the Iranians from going to Hajj when they were having the most intense disputes concerning Baghdad with Iran.

Nadir Shah and the Sharif of Maccah

In 1157, after Nadir Shah Afshar—the king of Iran—defeated the Ottoman army and occupied Iraq, he sent a great scholar to Maccah along with a letter from himself to Prince Mas'ud, the Sharif of Maccah. The letter stated that: "The Ottoman caliph has agreed for us to be prayed for on the pulpit of Maccah (in Masjid Al-Haram), and for the Ja'fari[2] faith which is our official sect to become openly known to all. Also, for our Imam Jama'at[3] to pray beside the Imams of the four schools of thought in Masjid Al-Haram." Nadir Shah threatened Sharif in the letter, and Sharif was saddened by this, and a type of disturbance and distress governed Maccah.

The Turkish governor in Jeddah (appointed by the Ottoman sultan) told Sharif Mas'ud to send Nadir Shah to him so that he could kill him. However, Sharif refused to do this and said he would hold onto him and write down what happened and send it to the capital city (Istanbul) to see what order would be given.

The governor did not agree with what Sharif did and maybe he thought that Sharif had an interest or liking for the Ja'fari faith. Sharif who found out that the governor thought this of him, ordered for the Shi'ahs to be cursed on the pulpit of Maccah to wipe away this thought.[4]

1. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 28.
2. Ja'fari sect is the Shi'ah sect which believes there are twelve Imams who are the successors to the Prophet (s), and one must believe in them. This name refers to the sixth Imam, who is called Imam Ja'far Al-Sadiq ('a).
3. Leader of congregational prayers.
4. *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 77.

The pledge of the unification of Islam which was ordered to be drawn up by Nadir Shah

To complete the subjects that were mentioned about the history of Maccah, we will give a short account of the measures Nadir Shah took to unite the Sunni and the Shi'ah, and the pledge that he wrote in the city of Najaf for this unification. The scholars of both sects signed this pledge. The following is quoted from the *Yadigar* (magazine No. 6, fourth year of publication):

Because of Nadir Shah's grudge and hatred towards the Safavids or because he wanted the Iranians to accept the Sunni faith so that they would be united with the Muslims of Turkey, Afghanistan and the Ottomans, he tried very hard to make the Iranians close to the Sunni people and their congregation. In the meeting held by the Mongols, which he arranged in lunar year 1148 and in which he was chosen to be king, addressing the representatives who had come from different countries to participate he said:

"From the time of the Prophet (s) until now four caliphs have undertaken the duty of being caliph one after the other, and India, Rome (he means the Ottomans), Turkey and all believe in their caliphate. Whenever the people of Iran desire my leadership and want their peace of mind they should acknowledge the faith of the Sunni people and their congregation."[1]

The representatives accepted this because they were afraid for their lives. They wrote a pledge to establish and settle this matter and they stamped it, and put it in Nadir's treasury.

Nadir sent this letter with an ambassador to the Ottoman sultan, and he made five proposals. If these proposals were accepted he would make peace with him:

1- The judges, scholars and the men of the Ottoman court must acknowledge and consider the Ja'fari sect as their fifth sect and school of thought.

2- Due to the fact that the four pillars of Masjid Al-Haram belonged to the Imams of the four schools of thought, this school of thought (*i.e. Ja'fari) must be partners with them in

1. Quoted from *Tarikh-e Jahangoshay-e Naderi.*

one pillar and they must pray as the Ja'fari sect do at that pillar.

3- An Amir Al-Hajj must be chosen by Iran every year so that he can take the Iranian pilgrims to the Ka'bah on the routes the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims take. Also, the Ottoman government must treat the Iranian Amir Al-Hajj as he treats the Egyptian and Syrian Amir Al-Hajjes.

4- The captives taken by the two governments must be freed no matter who they are and it must be unlawful to buy and sell the captives.

5- A legal representative from both governments must be in the capital cities of one another so that the issues and matters of both governments can be settled according to what is advisable.

Abd Al-Baqi Khan Zangana reached Istanbul on Rabi' Al-Akhir carrying these proposals with him. The Ottoman dignitaries refused to accept the Ja'fari faith as the fifth faith of the Sunni people and refused to select a pillar in the house of God (*i.e. Ka'bah) for the Iranians to pray at. When Sultan 'Uthmani also refused to accept these two issues Nadir decided to move towards the Ottoman lands and to force them to accept his proposals and for this reason he sent his artillery to Kermanshah.

The governor of Baghdad, who was called Ahmad Pasha and was appointed by the Ottoman sultan, agreed to obey Nadir Shah, so Nadir sent a number of people to occupy Najaf, Karbala, and Hilla and they did so with ease. Nadir also occupied Kirkuk and Musil himself and the Ottoman government was forced to make peace, so new talks regarding religious matters and elimination of disputes were organised and set up. Nadir reached Atabaat Al-A'liyyaat on Shawwal 1156 and he visited the holy places in Karbala, Najaf and Kadhimain. He also visited the grave of Abu Hanifah in Baghdad. He then asked the Shi'ah and Sunni scholars of Hilla, Baghdad, and Kadhimain to come to Najaf to hold talks and to sort out matters which they had disputes about with the scholars of Iran, Balkh, Bukhara and Afghanistan whom he had brought with him.

These negotiations finished on the 24th of Shawwal 1156 and they wrote a pledge with regard to the negotiations they had. The pledge with regard to this subject was written by the author of *Dorraya Nadira* and *Tarikh-e Jahangoshay-e Naderi* and Mirza Mahdi Khan who was Nadir's secretary of state. The scholars of both sects stamped (*i.e. signed it) it.

The pledge was certified by having the Iranian scholars stamp the pledge first and then having the Shi'ah and Sunni scholars of Atabaat Al-A'liyyaat stamp it. Afterwards the scholars of Transoxiona and then the scholars of Afghanistan signed it one after the other. At the end of the pledge the mufti of Baghdad also signed, attesting that the Islam of the people of Iran was true and legitimate.

The exact words of the pledge are recorded in the book *Tarikh-e Jahangoshay-e Naderi*. However, a detailed explanation of the pledge is given by Abu Al-Barakat Abdullah bin Husayn Suwaidi in his two books *Al-Nafhatul Miskina fil-Rehlah Al-Makkiyyah* and *Al-Hujaj Al-Qat'iyyah Li-Itifaq Al-Furaq Al-Islamiyyah,* which have both been published in Egypt. Abu Al-Barakat was a scholar from Baghdad who participated in the debates between the Sunni and Shi'ah scholars and is one of the people who signed the pledge.

"They placed a copy of this pledge in the chamber of the Shi'ah's first Imam and sent other copies to other Muslim countries. However, the few published copies and several handwritten copies of the book (*Tarikh-e Jahangoshay-e Naderi*) which the writer (the late Abbas Iqbal Manger and the writer of the *Yadigar Magazine*) has recorded and which I (*late Abbas Iqbal Mangir) have seen are imperfect, confused and disorganised. This is because firstly the name of the scholars who have signed it on behalf of the people of Afghanistan and the Arabs of Iraq, Iran and Turkey are not mentioned in *Jahangosha*. Secondly, the attestations of the scholars of Iraq are mixed up with the original pledge. Thirdly, the signature and attestation of the Afghan scholars no longer exist and the attestation of the governor of Baghdad Ahmad Pasha, and the stamp and signature of Afandi Yasin the Mufti of Baghdad is no longer there.

My (my as in the late Abbas Iqbal) learned friend, who is called Mr. Hajj Muhammad Agha Nakhjavani, and who has combined the pleasure and delight of seeking knowledge with generosity and

greatness, has made a copy of the complete pledge from a collection of copies and has kindly published it in the *Yadigar Magazine* for our use."

The complete pledge and contract along with the seals, names and official titles of all the scholars, who have put their seals on it, has been copied from Hajj Muhammad Agha Nakhjavani's copy and has been published in eight pages of the *Yadigar Magazine*. The names of the scholars have been recorded as follows: the area of Mirza Bahaa Al-Din Muhammad's seal, Shaykh Al-Islam[1] of Kirman or the area of the seal of Sayyid Husayn i, congregational prayer leader in Kashan, the area of the seal of Mirza Abul Fadhl-Shaykh Al-Islam of Qom, the area of the seal of Dakheel Ali-Karbala's judge, the area of the seal of Hamnzah-Shaykh Al-Islam of Afghanistan, the area of the seal of Muhammad Baqir-Bukhara's scholar, etc. One sees that most of the designations of the scholars were Shaykh Al-Islam, and were rarely prayer-leader or judge.[2]

However, the Ottoman writers have written about this event differently and for example Shaykh Rasul Karkukli has said, "Nadir announced his support of the Shi'ah and that he would be their defender in a big meeting that he had arranged in the lands of Afghanistan. However, the Sunni people who were from Kurdish and Daghestani tribes from the people who lived in the mountains (it is not clear who these mountain people are) who were Afghan were displeased and upset about this matter and they made an agreement with each other to fight with Nadir. In the great war that took place, Nadir was defeated with many losses. Nadir sent large presents to the mausoleums of Abu Hanifah, Ali Al-Murtadha ('a), Sayyid al-Shuhada[3] Imam Husayn ('a) and Imam Musa Al-Khadhim ('a) in order to gently encourage both sides. He also announced that the *azan* must be read five times and that the sentence "حي على خير العمل" should be cut out of the *azan*. All of this was to attract the tribes, Kurds and Afghans. He also sent presents to the Ottoman sultan."

1. Religious leader / chief of the Muslims.
2. A summary of the *Yadigar Magazine*, No 6, fourth year since magazine starting being published, p. 43 till the end of p. 55.
3. Master of the martyrs.

Karkukli then says, "After the battle that was mentioned, Nadir gathered the scholars in the deserts of Afghanistan once again with the intention that they achieve something good from sharing the different opinions they have with each other. In the end they all unanimously agreed to truly swear allegiance to the shah and to support him."

After this Nadir attacked India and was victorious against King Muhammad (the Taymuri leader of India), and he made him is tributary. He then conquered Turkey, the Afghan lands, Balkh and Bukhara, and he broke the treaty and violated the agreements he had with the Ottoman king. By making a show and pretending that he wanted to attack Rome (Ottoman government) by way of Baghdad, he sent messengers to the governor of Baghdad, Ahmad Pasha, to inform him of this. Ahmad Pasha agreed to let him stop in and pass Iraq on the basis that he was a guest. Then Nadir sent several thousand soldiers to Baghdad on the grounds that they were buying food for the army. However, he besieged Iraq by using his soldiers and, to summarise, after several battles he occupied the whole of Iraq. After his occupation he went and visited the Atabaat al-'Aliyyaat and he ordered Imam Ali's ('a) mausoleum to be repaired and the dome to be gilded. He then went to Karbala and he spread that he was Sunni, and he wrote to Ahmad Pasha to send a Sunni scholar to debate with the Shi'ah scholars so that the misunderstanding between the two sects could be dealt with. Ahmad Pasha chose to send Abdullah Suwaidi, who was trustworthy in dealing with such important affairs.

Suwaidi has described and given an account of his journey in his book *Al-Nafhatul Makkiyya wa al-Rihlatul al-Malikiyyah*, and Karkukli has quoted it. For example, Karkukli has quoted the following from Suwaidi: "When I went to Nadir in Najaf, he welcomed me. I guessed he was around eighty years old. It was agreed and decided for the meeting of the scholars to take place under the ceiling of the chamber of Imam Ali Al-Murtadha ('a) above his head[1]." Quoting from Suwaidi, Karkukli mentions the names of the scholars that were present: "From the scholars of Iran Ali Akbar Mulla Bashi, etc. (*i.e. the rest of the scholars from elsewhere)."

1. An area above the head of Imam Ali's ('a) body.

Then he writes that from the scholars of Afghanistan was Shaykh Fadhil Mulla Hamnzah Qulija'i Hanafi—the mufti of Afghanistan. Then he mentions the names and designations of a group of other people.

After that the seven scholars from Transoxiona, sat on his (Suwaidi's) right hand side, and on his left hand side there were fifteen Shi'ah scholars.

Then Mulla Bashi read out a speech and he mentioned Suwaidi and said, "He is one of the learned Sunni scholars, and Nadir Shah has asked Ahmad Pasha to make him the arbitrator between us and for him to be a legal representative of the shah and to witness what is agreed between us." Karkukli quotes the course of the discussions from Suwaidi and says that the result of the discussions was that: "The Shi'ahs are Muslims and that which is to their benefit and loss is to our benefit and loss. Then everyone got up and shook hands with each other and they all said: "ياالخي" -'Welcome brother' to each other."

On the second day, before noon they gathered in the same place as the day before and they brought a paper that was more than seven spans[1] in length. They wrote the pledge in two thirds of the paper. Mulla Bashi asked the Mufti, who was called Agha Husayn , for the pledge to be read out in Persian which was the language the shah spoke. Karkukli has written the contents of the pledge in Arabic, and has mentioned Suwaidi's objection to some issues, which he has quoted from Suwaidi himself. Karkukli also quotes the following from Suwaidi: "The names of the people who put their seal on the pledge were recorded. Afterwards they brought us sweets that were placed in gold dishes, which were decorated with jewels. Then they took us to the shah and after saying some things (Suwaidi has mentioned what the shah says and Karkukli has quoted it from Suwaidi) he said:

"Tomorrow is Friday, and I would like to perform my Friday prayers in the Mosque of Kufa and I have ordered for the names of the Sahabah to be read out with glorification and honour in the same order that was agreed. I have also instructed them to read *'dua* for my brother Sultan Al 'Uthman (*i.e. Ottoman sultan) and after that to read

1. The maximum distance between the tips of the thumb and little finger, which is taken as the basis of a measurement and is roughly equal to 9 inches.

a shorter and more brief *'dua* for me. This is to honour and respect my brother Sultan 'Uthmani who is a sultan and the son of a sultan, whereas I was born when neither my father nor my grandfather were sultans"."[1] Even though the summary that was given from Karkukli's writings contains clear historical mistakes, it also contains subtle historical details especially if it is studied carefully.

A few points related to the aforementioned topic

It is clear from the course of history that Nadir Shah tried very hard to make the Sunni and Shi'ah close to one another and to create a friendship between them. However because of the severity and extremity of the religious prejudice and stubbornness of the authorities of the Ottoman state (we have mentioned an example of this), Nadir's efforts did not achieve a positive outcome.

It seems suitable to mention a few things here. Firstly, throughout history it appears no instance can be found where a Shi'ah scholar, whether living at the time of the Safavid Dynasty or any other eras, has ruled that fighting with another Islamic sect is holy war, named a Muslim land to be an enemy territory or land of warfare, or issued a *fatwa* saying that the followers of a particular Islamic sect are unbelievers.

Secondly, the *fatwas* issued by the Ottoman Shaykh Al-Islams were issued to carry out the orders and wants of the Ottoman kings, whereas in the Shi'ah history there has never been a king who asked a scholar to issue a *fatwa* with regard to a particular matter. Furthermore, throughout the Shi'ah history, a Shi'ah scholar has never given a *fatwa* which he has not weighed out and thought of or which has been issued merely and purely due to bigotry and personal or tribal opinions.

Thirdly, the scholars, seminary students and the people of the vast Ottoman lands had little information about the books and documents that were trustworthy and reliable to the Shi'ah and which were about Shi'ah Islamic jurisprudence, theology, science of traditions and other Islamic sciences. It is possible that many of them did not know what

1. *Dawhat Al-Wuzara* by Karkukli (a summary from p. 46-63. –in this book instead of the word Moghan (Moguls) Safan has been written.

an extensive and noble *fiqh* the Shi'ah have.[1] However, it was not so for the Shi'ah, because all the Shi'ah scholars and seminary students were well informed about the books of other sects. This was because in Iran, which is the centre of most of the followers of the Shi'ah faith, there have never been any restrictions for books which belonged to other Islamic sects.

Even today everyone is witness to the fact that in the public and private book shops and libraries every type of book that has been written by the Islamic writers of any sect is accessible. In addition, at Tehran University the Hanafi and Shafi'i *fiqhs* are taught and there are followers of these two sects who live in Iran. What we mean to say is that if the Ottomans had trustworthy books and documents of the Shi'ah at hand and studied them purely to find the truth, they would certainly and undoubtedly recognise the Shi'ah as they truly are and not recognise them based on opinions and suspicions or insinuations made by uniformed and spiteful people.

Conclusion

The main reason the above matters and issues were mentioned was to show that if we take the massacre of the Iranian pilgrims in 1088 and similar incidents into consideration, it is obvious and clear that from the beginning of the formation of the Safavid sovereignty the aforementioned *fatwas* were issued in the vast Ottoman lands and particularly in Haramain Al-Sharifain to provoke the people and to rouse the enmity of the Ottoman followers with the Iranians. The Ottomans also resorted to different types of unjust and cowardly accusations about the Iranians to rouse this enmity. One of these big and disastrous accusations repeatedly caused the lives of the Iranian pilgrims to be taken away from them because of the scenes the Ottomans staged and the last was the story of Abu Talib Yazdi.

1. It was forbidden for Shi'ah books to enter the lands of the Ottomans and so for this reason the students of religious sciences, who were living in these lands, rarely got their hands on books concerning the Shi'ah Islamic jurisprudence, Shi'ah theology and Shi'ah beliefs. It is regrettable that this ban is still present in some Islamic countries.

The death of King Abdul-Aziz

In the last ten years of his life, Sultan Abdul-Aziz was paralysed and he moved using a bed with wheels, Also, the arteries of his brain and heart had hardened. In the summer of 1953 A.D. he decided to go to Ta'if; however, Ta'if was not compatible with Abdul-Aziz's physical condition because it had temperate and moderate weather since its height from the level of the sea is one thousand two hundred meters. As a result, he became worse. Even though, apart from the specific doctor he had, other German doctors tried to cure him, the medical treatments did not help. He died on the 2nd day of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal, 1373. His body was carried to Riyadh by aeroplane and he was buried there.[1]

Some of Sa'ud's habits and characteristics

Amin Muhammad Sa'id, who was with Ibn Sa'ud and is familiar with his character and habits, has talked about Sa'ud's character, habits, qualities and daily schedule in detail.[2]

For example, Amin Muhammad Sa'id has said, "He is a tall and large man, and he has a big mouth. Froth comes out of his mouth when he speaks with anger. He has a round face, which has been burnt by the sun and is tawny. His beard is little and slight and he has an upset eye, which causes pain. When reading a book or a letter he uses his glasses otherwise he puts the paper close to his eyes. Reading Sa'ud's handwriting is very difficult. Many marks made by wounds are seen in his body and one of his fingers is paralysed."

Ibn Sa'ud wears a *kuffiyeh* and *'igal* and a long white Dishdasha with white trousers underneath. He wears an Abaya on top of his clothes and on his shoulders.

He confesses that he has not learnt modern sciences and says that the people who have learnt these sciences have to help and guide us.

Ibn Sa'ud reads a speech for every occasion, and in his speeches he does not care to use eloquent language and does not observe the rules

1. A summary from the book *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah*, vol. 2, p. 535 onwards.
2. *Muluk Al-Muslimin Al-Mu'asirun*, vol. 1, summary from p. 120 onwards.

of grammar. He speaks with the accent of the people of Najd and most of his speeches have a religious aspect. He also uses and cites Prophetic Hadiths and Qur'anic verses. He reads his speeches sitting down and he uses his forefinger and a small cane to help him express his views.

Ibn Sa'ud is gentle and soft natured even when angry, and when necessary he is harsh and merciless. He knows where to use his sword and where to use forgiveness and acts of kindness. Whenever his enemies express their regret, he forgives them and gives them a lot of money and a high status. Therefore the providence he has, the decisions he makes and the efforts he has put in managing and running his country, have created a rarely seen security in his lands, where no one is worried about their life, money and property. The main reason for this is the more than usual alertness he has and the surprising harshness he uses with criminals, bandits and those who disturb the people's peace. He shows these criminals no mercy and does not accept anyone's intercession on their behalf.[1]

Ibn Sa'ud pays attention to Arabic newspapers and particular attention to Egyptian newspapers, and he reads what these newspapers say about his country carefully. He is partner with most of the Arabic newspapers and magazines and is also a partner of the London Times newspaper. There are translators who translate English and Indian newspapers and articles that are related to the Arabic countries and Hejaz for him.

At the time of Ibn Sa'ud, the first group of the youths of Najd and Hejaz went to Egypt and Europe to study sciences and industry in 1927. There were sixteen people in this group.

Also at the time of Ibn Sa'ud the people were permitted to use cars for their comings and goings and this was not allowed before.

1. Ibn Bishr the Najd historian has mentioned similar things about Ibn Sa'ud in detail, and has especially mentioned his efforts and that he finally managed to create security in routes and ways and managed to make the Arabs not commit banditry and similar matters.

The government of Al Sa'ud after Ibn Sa'ud

After Sultan Abdul-Aziz died his sons gathered together and swore allegiance to the crown prince, King Sa'ud, as the king of the country of Sa'udi Arabia. King Sa'ud appointed his brother Faisal as crown prince.

The people of Sa'udi swore allegiance to King Sa'ud in Maccah and thousands of people from around the country gathered to swear allegiance to the new king. The people of Maccah, who were accompanied by the scholars, judges, men in charge of managing the affairs and the leaders of tribes, read out the historical oath of allegiance based on Islamic laws.

The text of the oath was as follows:

"يا امام المسلمين الملك سعود بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحمن الفيصل آل سعود المتوفى يوم الاثنين ٢ ربيع الاول سنة ١٣٧٣ – قد عهد الامانة من بعده اليكم و اخذت لكم البيعه في عام ١٣٥٢ فان امامتكم بذلك منعقدة و ثابتة شرعاً . وإنّنا بمناسبة وفاة والدكم عبد العزيز و توليكم امامة المسلمين من بعده نجدد و نؤكد بيعتكم التي في اعناقنا على العمل بكتاب الله وسنّة رسوله و اقامة العدل في كل شيء وتحكيم الشريعة الاسلامية ولكم علينا السمع و الاطاعة ففي العسر و اليسر والمنشط و المكر و نسال الله لكم العون و التوفيق فيما حملتم من امور المسلمين و ان يحقق على ايديكم ما ترجوه الامة الاسلامية من مجد وتمكين"

After carrying out the above ceremonies, the scholars of Riyadh led by the great Mufti and the scholars of every city and village came to swear allegiance to King Sa'ud and express their obedience to him.

At sunset on Thursday the fifth of Rabi' al-Ula 1373, King Sa'ud went to Masjid Al-Haram and led the congregational Maghrib prayers. He then circulated the Ka'bah and he read *'dua* and gave a speech. In that

speech he stated the basis and foundations of his government and his policies inside the country and outside the country.[1]

King Sa'ud put in a lot of effort throughout his leadership for his country to flourish. He built many schools and hospitals and he made some progress in road construction and connecting lines and routes.

One of the most important things King Sa'ud did was to expand Masjid Al-Haram and the Prophet's ('a) Mosque. He bought many of the lands and real estate around these two holy mosques and added them to the mosques. He made wide roads around these two mosques such that there are no longer any buildings attached to any of the two mosques.

The start of the expansion of the Prophet's (s) mosque was in the month of Shawwal 1370 and at the time of King Abdul-Aziz. However, the main expansions were made at the time of King Sa'ud. In the expansion, the area of the mosque increased and became 16327 square meters.[2]

Other things that were dealt with in King Sa'ud's time was the condition of the driving regulations and laws which stated that whoever did not abide by the laws of driving would be sentenced to one year imprisonment. In addition if a driver, whoever they may be, were to kill someone, he would be executed at once. This rule was so harsh and severe that it scared all the political officials and foreign ambassadors.[3]

In 1961 A.D, which corresponds to 1381 A.H., King Faisal, who was King Sa'ud's crown prince and prime minister, was chosen as the king's successor. After some time, all the powers of leadership were

1. *Al-Bilad Al-Sa'udiyya Magazine*, published in Maccah, dated the 16th of Rabi' al-Ula 1374.
2. The expansion of the Prophet's ('a) Mosque has been completed, but the expansions and reconstructions in Masjid Al-Haram still continue. In the new reconstructions made in Masjid Al-Haram, the area for running between the mountains of Safa and Marwa, which used to be a narrow bazaar, has been transformed to an excellent and beautiful two floored building with sufficient width. The area of Masjid Al-Haram, including the expansions made and the part of the mosque which is designed for praying, now exceeds 160,000 square meters.
3. Al-*Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah Kama Araftaha*, p. 135-136.

given over to him (*i.e. he became king) because of the decision of the Council of Shaykhs, tribal leaders and scholars.

On November 1964 they swore allegiance to King Faisal as the king of the Sa'udi country. This was approved by the Council of Ministers and the high court of tribal leaders and shayks, and the *fatwas* of the scholars.[1]

1. On April 1975 King Faisal was killed in Riyadh by one of his relatives and his brother King Khalid took his place. A few years later King Khalid passed away and another brother, King Fahad, took his place as leader of the Sa'udi country. Sa'ud, who resigned as a result of his brother's orders and left the Sa'udi country, died in Greece in 1969.

SECTION EIGHT
Jami'iyyat[1] Al-Ikhwan or Jami'iyyat Al-Amirin bil Ma'ruf wa al-Nahina an al-Munkar[2]

I found it suitable to allocate a separate section of the book to discuss and study Jami'iyyat Al-Ikhwan. This is because in the latest historic period of the Wahhabis, they have had great effect and influence with regard to religious laws being carried out (according to their own beliefs).

Salah Al-Din Mukhtar says the following regarding the reason for the formation of the Ikhwan sect: "When King Abdul-Aziz Al Sa'ud saw that his people and nation were spread out in the desert and they were causing chaos by corruption and sedition, he decided and planned to unite and establish a general agreement between these ignorant and seditious tribes in some way or other. To put his plan into practice he thought that no factor was better and more effective than making them follow religion, spreading religious laws and rules among them, and setting boundaries between the Bedouin tribes.

To carry out his plan Ibn Sa'ud asked Shaykh Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Abd Al-Latif, a Najd scholar, to write books using simple language so that the Bedouins could understand and accept it, to write based on the Hanbali faith and to spread it among all the tribes. Ibn Sa'ud also sent a number of Shaykh Abdullah's students as preachers to give guidance to the people. They explained religious matters and laws to the Bedouins in such a way (simple and understandable) that the Bedouins obeyed them and carried them out with all their hearts. In this way a religious feeling was created among the Bedouins. The result of all these measures was the formation of the Ikhwan sect.

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1. Society.
2. A group that instructs others to do good and forbids others from committing sins or doing evil.

These strategies were used at a time when the Bedouins were tired of so much bloodshed between Al Sa'ud and Al Rashid and wanted to free themselves from the state they were in and find and start a new life. Therefore they were eager for the aforementioned teachings that prohibited them from killing and invited them to justice and peace. These teachings also affected the Bedouins physically. The Bedouins lived in the worst savage way and they didn't wash their bodies for six months or even a year, but now they have started to pay attention to cleanliness so that they can carry out what the Hadith "النظافة من الايمان" 'Cleanliness is a part of faith' says. The Bedouin who used to base his whole life on plundering the money and properties of others now always has this '*dua* "اللهم اغننا بحلالك عن حرامك" 'O God, enrich us with your *halal* things, not your *haram* things', on the tip of his tongue. Therefore, the above strategy created a rarely seen security and whoever saw money or anything else valuable on his way or in the desert, he would instantly inform the governor."[1]

Due to the measures that were taken, the desert dwelling Bedouins quickly became urbans. The aforementioned measures, however, created extreme behaviour and bigotry in religious matters and issues, and this caused problems for Ibn Sa'ud. So that these issues could be stopped and prevented, Ibn Sa'ud asked the scholars to write a letter to the Ikhwan sect and to warn them of carrying out actions which were against religion and to warn them against being bigoted and from carrying out extreme behaviour which resulted from this. Ibn Sa'ud himself also issued a threatening statement which was addressed to the Ikhwan sect.[2]

Hafidh Wahba says the following about the Ikhwan sect: "When the name Ikhwan was mentioned on the borders of Iraq or Eastern Jordan or Kuwait, hearts would fill with fear and everyone would seek refuge in the forts and behind the towers and ramparts. Who are these people who cause fear and tumult in the Arab lands?"

In the later years, the Arab Bedouins were called the Ikhwan. The Ikhwans were people who had left their Bedouin homes and had chosen to live in a specific place and had built houses made of mud

1. *Tarikh Al-Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah,* vol. 2, p. 146 onwards.
2. Salah Al-Din Mokhtar has quoted what was written in the letter from the scholars and what was written in Ibn Sa'uds statement, vol. 2, p. 149 onwards.

for themselves which they called cells. This means that they repudiated their previous life and settled down with their next better life. These mud houses were built instead of tents for the first time in 1330 A.H. and the residents consisted of several tribes. The Arabs called their previous life the age of ignorance and their new life Islam.[1]

St. John Philby (Abdullah) has written the following with regard to the formation and the coming into existence of the Ikhwan sect:

> "In 1912 (1331 A.H.), an outcome was achieved due the efforts of the people who had been sent to the tribes on behalf of Ibn Sa'ud to show them the right way, lead them to religion, and scare them from eternal punishment. In this year a group of the tribes of Harb and Mutir gathered together in the Hurma region (one of the suburbs of Najd).
>
> This group, which consisted of fifty people in the beginning, decided to be called the Ikhwan sect and they made an area on the way to Kuwait that was called Qasim their home. Gradually they increased in number and an army which was committed to the foundations and bases of religion was created.
>
> Ibn Sa'ud who intended to create a zealous (and a fearless) army by forming the aforementioned sect, gave them all the required facilities from grain and farming equipment to weapons and war reserves to defend religion. The Ikhwan made killing, plundering, banditry, smoking tobacco products and having a comfortable and good life *haram* and they cared mainly about collecting reserves for their hereafter. They called all the people and even all the different Islamic sects, apart from themselves *mushriks* and idol worshippers.
>
> The year 1912 had not yet ended when Ibn Sa'ud found he was the leader of a local and voluntary army which had been formed by the Bedouins who had become townsmen. This was an army that would fight to the death, but it was a

1. Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab says: "Emigrating from polytheist countries to Muslim countries is obligatory for the Muslims up to the day of resurrection." '*Aqidat Al-Firqa Al-Najiyyah*, p. 28.

> disordered army which did not follow any order or rule. When at war this army moved along with an orderly and well taught army; however, they were separate from them and they carried their own particular flag. The Ikhwan were like this for fifteen years and from then on wealth, peace and arrogance had such an effect on them that they believed all Ibn Sa'ud's victories were the result of their efforts."[1]

The problems that arose due to the formation of Jami'iyyat Al-Ikhwan

These Bedouins and tent dwellers slowly started to believe that the principles and religious teachings were only what they had learnt and anything apart from what they were taught was misleading and resulted in perdition. It was for this reason that they looked at everyone including the townspeople with mistrust and suspicion, and they even doubted and mistrusted Ibn Sa'ud. They believed that putting a turban on your head was the Sunnah of the Prophet (s) but wearing an '*igal*[2] was an ugly innovation. Some of them exaggerated about this matter and said that the '*igals* were the clothes of the unbelievers and one must stay away from a person who wears an '*igal*.

Many of them believed that anyone that did not abandon being a Bedouin and tent dweller was not a Muslim no matter how religious and learned he was so, for this reason, they did not say *salaam* to Bedouins, they would not reply to the *salaam* of the Bedouins, and they would not eat from the animals the Bedouins sacrificed for God. A group of the Ikhwans believed that the shaykhs took it easy on Ibn Sa'ud and ignored his actions, and so they were also guilty of hiding the truth. They also believed that the townspeople were misled and going to war with the people living around the city was obligatory and that this was suggested to them by God. Therefore, they did not accept anyone's opinions concerning the prohibition of going to war.

A group of the Ikhwan took fault with Sultan Abdul-Aziz and they accused him of being friends with *kafirs*. They also accused him of

1. *Tarikh Najd*, extracted from p. 305 to 308.
2. Headband worn by Arabs.

being careless about religion, and said that he wore long clothes, did not cut his moustache and wore an *'igal* on his head.

The Ikhwans believed that anything that was not in accordance with what they wanted and their desires was *haram*.[1]

Ibn Sa'ud trying to find a solution

These unruly and arrogant souls and unpleasant prejudices and bigotries were a result of the wrong instructions suggested to the Bedouins by some of the students of Shaykh Abd Al-Rahman who went to give the Bedouins guidance.

With regard to this issue Hafidh Wahba says, "The year 1335 must be counted as one of the most difficult years in the history of Najd. This is because in this year a revolt and sedition nearly took place in this land between the Ikhwan sect and the Sa'udi government and urbans.

To prevent the danger that threatened Najd, Ibn Sa'ud sent a group of seminary students who were informed of the religious teachings to the Ikhwan sect to try and fix what those who were sent before corrupted. Meanwhile those who were sent before (Shaykh Abdullah's students), who had planted the seed of ignorance and misinformation among the people were removed from the job they were given and were banned from living in the cells (the adobe houses which the Ikhwan had built for themselves).

However beneficial this plan was, it did not totally remove what had been imprinted on the minds of the Ikhwan sect. If they had not been afraid of Sultan Abdul-Aziz's sword and power, chaos would have spread throughout the whole of the Arabian Peninsula."[2]

Some of the qualities and characters of the Ikhwan sect

Hafidh Wahba says: "The Ikhwan now support and look after the routes, believe committing injustice to a traveler and passerby is

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1. Sayyid Ibrahim Refa'ei says, "The Jam'iyyat al-Ikhwan or Jami'iyyat al-Amirina bil Ma'ruf wa al-Nahina Anil Munkar are a group of common people and, as I have heard, none of them are able to read the Qur'an, and they tell the readers of Qur'an, "You read the Qur'an and we will interpret it"." *Resalat Al-Awraq Al-Baghdadiyyah,* p. 2, published in Baghdad.
2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 313.

prohibited, and respect their neighbours and the Muslims. They also believe it is *haram* to kill and to plunder the wealth and properties of Muslims.

The Ikhwan sect are not afraid of death and they turn to death to obtain the status of martyrdom and to go to God (in their opinion). When a mother says her goodbyes to her child she says, "May God bring you and I together in Paradise." When they attack and fight their motto is

﴿إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ﴾.

"You alone we worship and from You alone we seek aid."[1] "I (Hafidh Wahba) witnessed some of their wars and I saw how they gave their lives and how they went towards the enemy in hoards. None of them thought about anything apart from defeating and killing the enemy."

There is not the least bit of mercy and compassion in all the hearts of the Ikhwan sect, and no one is ever freed by them and wherever they go they bring death. The power and danger of the Ikhwan at war, was shown in their repeated attacks on Iraq, Kuwait and eastern Jordan. Even though their Imam Ibn Sa'ud, prohibited them from carrying out these wars and always ordered them to be lenient and to act sensibly and reasonably and not to kill the people and even though the scholars also instructed them to not kill the captives and refugees, they still did not listen.

Whenever one of the Ikhwans sees someone while travelling who has a long moustache, he invites that person to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet (s), and then cuts the extra part of the moustache for him with scissors. However if a person was to come across the area the Ikhwan live in, prohibition of having a long moustache is done harshly and by force and coercion and not by advising and talking gently.

Furthermore if anyone's clothes are long they will cut the extra part with scissors. With all these actions and beliefs and even thought they had crossed their boundaries in opposing the government, Ibn Sa'ud ignored the harm and inconveniences they caused. Ibn Sa'ud would

1. Surah Al-Fatiha, verse 5.

say that with the passing of time the severity of their bigotry will lessen and their vehemence will decrease."[1]

The opposition with new inventions and the tearing of telephone wires

The first time the Ikhwan sect entered Maccah they did not think the government was magnificent and formidable. Whatever they believed was prohibited or sinful they would remove by force. Ibn Sa'ud surrendered to them many times because he was afraid of their seditiousness. However if he saw that agreeing with them caused weakness in his leadership over the Arabian Peninsula he would react harshly and with severity.

Ibn Sa'ud saw a telephone for the first time in Maccah and he realized it was a very useful machine, which one can use to carry out matters with speed and with which one can quickly send news and receive news. Therefore, he planned and intended to install a line of telephone wires between Maccah and the Hadda' area where his military camp was based and also to install another wire between the Raghama region and Hadda'. However, later he changed his mind and delayed carrying out these plans because it was possible that putting telephone wires would provoke the Ikhwan sect and make them revolt.

The people, who were from the Ikhwan sect, would tear wires wherever they saw them. They thought that using the telephone was a sin and was prohibited and getting rid of them was obligatory. There were many instances where they cut the wires that were connected to the sultan's palace while the sultan was in Maccah. They believed that the voice heard from the telephone was Satan's voice. According to Philby in order to wipe out this belief, they invited the Ikhwan to come and listen to the sound that comes out of the telephone, and the Ikhwan were very surprised and astonished when they heard one of their friends reading verses from the Qur'an on the telephone (because Satan does not read Qur'an).[2]

In addition, when a man from the Ikhwan sect saw one of the sultan's servants riding a bicycle he hit him. The Najd people call the bicycle

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 314-315.
2. *Tarikh Najd*, p. 357.

Satan's horse or wagon. They also believe riding the bicycle is an innovation and they believe it moves by black magic and with Satan's legs.[1]

In 1926 A.D. Sultan Abdul-Aziz had no choice but to surrender to the Ikhwan and to stop the use of the wireless telegraph in Medinah.

The Ikhwan were more sensitive to the wireless and telegraph and so for this reason they made severe objections to Ibn Sa'ud. Hafidh Wahba says that "In Sha'ban 1351 A.H. when I was in Riyadh, Ibn Sa'ud informed me that in 1331 A.H, when the scholars found out that it had been decided that wireless stations in Riyadh and some of the big cities of Najd were going to be built, they came to him and told him: "Oh old man, whoever has proposed that you use the telegraph and bring it in our lands, has tricked you." They also said that Philby[2] will soon cause calamities for us and we are afraid that he will surrender our lands to the English."[3]

When the wireless machine was established in Riyadh and was used and was useful, the people would say to each other that the creation of this wireless station is the border between evil and good. The scholars would send people who they thought were trustworthy to see these stations and to see Satan and the sacrifices made for him, but they did not see anything like that there. "The head of the station told me (Hafidh Wahba) that some of the young shaykhs had come to him at different times to ask him when they could see Satan, whether the big Satan was in Maccah or in Riyadh, and how many children he had to help him in this important task of transporting news. He would answer them and say that Satan does not interfere in his job."[4] "In 1346 A.H. King (Ibn Sa'ud) sent me (Hafidh Wahba) with one of the scholars of Najd to inspect the administrative and religious matters in Medinah. We started talking about the wireless telegraph and other similar

1. *Hafidh Wahbah,* p. 316.
2. We mean St. John Philby, who is Ibn Sa'ud's close friend and has become Muslim and has changed his name to Abdullah. We gave a short description of him and his life previously in a footnote when we were talking about the story of the caliphate of Sharif Husayn .
3. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 308.
4. Ibid, p. 309.

things and the shaykh said that these things undoubtedly make Jinn's[1] work for them. He also said that a trustworthy person has said that the wireless telegraph only works if a sacrifice is made for it and when slaughtering the sacrifice that Satan's name was mentioned."[2]

In addition some years ago they broke the first alarm clock in Najd and they said it was Satan's work. They also banned the shaykhs from using them and they said that using an alarm clock was an innovation. Shaykh Sa'id bin Sahman wrote a short thesis in rejection of this belief and it was published in Egypt in 1923.[3]

The Wahhabis viewed the automobile with anger and opposed it, on the grounds that if it were not one of the works of Satan then it was the invention of the unbelievers. They even openly burnt the first car that entered the extremist city of Howda (in Najd) in the city's public bazaar.[4] Various other matters similar to this can also be found but in order to observe briefness, they will not be mentioned.[5]

Ibn Sa'ud tolerated these matters with forbearance and would eliminate them with good management. However, he allowed the Jam'iyyat al-Ikhwan or Jami'iyyat al-Amirina bil Ma'ruf wa al-Naheina Anil Munkar to remain as they were and submitted to their opinions in religious matters.

In 1950 as a powerful king, Ibn Sa'ud wanted to celebrate his golden anniversary[6] (to commemorate the occasion of fifty years since the occupation of Riyadh) by radio so that all the governments he had political relations with could communicate their friendship and admiration for the person who took his people from wandering in the deserts to the civilized international society. He also wanted to hold suitable and extraordinary celebrations and parties. However he was

1. An intelligent spirit able to appear in animal and human form.
2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 307.
3. Ibid, p. 309.
4. *Tarikh Najd,* Philby, p. 356.
5. For example, some of the extremists opposed the vaccinations against small pox. *Hafidh Wahbah*, p. 306.
6. The sentence that is used to describe the golden anniversary is 'Yoobeel Al-Dhahabi Al-Qamari'. Yoobeel is a Hebrew word and means the fiftieth year, and so this sentence means the fiftieth year of the occupation of Riyadh by Ibn Sa'ud in accordance with the lunar years.

worried whether he was allowed to do such a thing based on religious laws. Therefore he had a consultation with the great mufti of Riyadh, Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim, and other religious scholars.

The *fatwa* the scholars issued was that based on the teachings and the Sunnah of the Prophet (s) having a golden anniversary was not lawful because such things were innovations of the Jews and the Christians. Even though the equipment and supplies for the celebration had been made ready a long time before and in Jeddah the political staff and ambassadors had been invited to participate in a magnificent celebration, an order was issued that cancelled everything.[1]

The power the Muftis and Jami'iyyat Al-Ikhwan had in carrying out religious laws and rules still exists. However, they do not have the power to prevent the manifestations of new civilization and they also benefit from using the useful inventions themselves.

The way Ibn Sa'ud dealt with things was to not prevent and stop serious and fast incidents and to just leave them to carry on naturally. However, when they became slow he used his mind to crush the enemy at appropriate opportunities.

Even though Ibn Sa'ud reacted mildly and gently with the Ikhwan, the governor of Ahsa, Prince Abdullah bin Jalowy, appointed by Ibn Sa'ud, dealt with them in the harshest ways. The leaders of the tribes reproached the Ikhwan many times because of their exaggerations and severe and extreme actions, and they would say that when they were Bedouins they were better than what they are at present. None of the Ikhwan dared to raise their hand toward someone in Ahsa and if they did they were punished in the worst possible way. For this reason, the people from the Ikhwan sect went to Ahsa disguised and carried out their plans calmly and peacefully.[2]

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1. Philby, p. 415.

2. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 317. The Ikhwan's extremeness and severity with regard to the aforementioned and similar matters disappeared with the passing of time and along with the government becoming more powerful. Therefore the Sa'udi country gradually benefited from all the useful manifestations of new civilisation and useful inventions. According to what has been written in *Al-Bilad Al-Sa'udiyya Magazine*, published in Maccah dated the 16th of Rabi' al-Ula 1374 (around 18 years ago), at that time the Sa'udi country had 71 wireless centres equipped with the newest intelligence equipment and Sa'udi was connected to most

The faults the Ikhwan sect found with Ibn Sa'ud

On the day of Eid Al-Fitr 1343, after the Eid prayers, Faisal Doweesh (one of the leaders of the Ikhwan sect) and a number of his companions gathered together. In accordance with the custom of the Ikhwan, who never have a meeting without preaching, Faisal gave a speech to those who were present. In his speech, he said that our aim is nothing but to wipe out cruelties and oppression and to eliminate innovations and prohibitions. We will fight with anyone who goes the same way the Sharif of Maccah went (*i.e. believes the same things/follows him).

This was the first threat that was given by the Ikhwans to Sultan Abdul-Aziz. After around a year after this event an assembly consisting of the leaders of the Ikhwan sect was formed, and they agreed with each and made a treaty to help the religion of God and to fight in the way of God. They then objected to the following things that Abdul-Aziz did:

- He makes friends with the *kafirs* and he shows carelessness with regard to religion. He wears long clothes and he does not cut his moustache and he wears an *'igal* (we pointed this out before).

- He has sent his son Sa'ud to Egypt, which is a polytheist country.

- He has sent his other son to London.

- He uses the car, telegraph and telephone.

- He has laid down taxes in Hejaz and Najd.

- He has given the tribes of Iraq and Eastern Jordan the permission to let their cattle and sheep graze in the lands of the Muslims (this means Najd and Hejaz).

- He has banned trading with Kuwait. If the people of Kuwait are *kafirs* then we must fight with them and if they are Muslims, then why is trading with them banned?

- He must force the Shi'ah of Ahsa and Qudaif to accept the religion of the Sunnis and their congregation (*i.e. become Sunni).

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of the world by wireless. Furthermore, there were telephone connections in 14 cities and in Maccah there was a radio transmitter. Since then, the use of inventions and scientific discoveries has undoubtedly increased and has become even more.

Sultan Abdul-Aziz quickly returned from Najd to Hejaz (when he found out about this) to deal with this event tactfully. To be able to do this, he invited the Ikhwan leaders to gather together in Riyadh on the 25th of Rajab 1345. All the Ikhwan leaders accepted his invitation and showed up in Riyadh, apart from Sultan bin Bijad (one of the Ikhwan leaders) who did not participate in this gathering. In this gathering King Abdul-Aziz gave a detailed description of himself. He described himself as a servant and protector of the Islamic sacred law and said, "I am who I was before and despite what some people think I have not changed." He also said, "I am always awake and I always watch out for and take care about the interests of the Arabs and the Muslims."

This gathering resulted in a *fatwa* being issued, which was with regard to the matters which distressed and troubled the Ikhwan sect. Furthermore, those that were present expressed their admiration for the king (Ibn Sa'ud) and they swore allegiance to him as the king of Najd and he was given the official title of the king of Hejaz and Najd and was also given other titles by them. The following *fatwa* which has been recorded and mentioned by Hafidh Wahba, is a speech given by the scholars who were present in the meeting and regards the questions the Ikhwans had asked King Abdul-Aziz and the answers to those questions. A summary of those replies is as follows:

"With regard to the wireless (in the Najd language wireless is called electrical) telegraph, this is a recent issue and we are unaware and uniformed about it and we have not heard anything about it from any of the scholars. Therefore we will pause (*and temporarily not give a ruling) concerning this issue because it is necessary to be aware of the truth of the matter when giving an absolute ruling with respect to whether something is permissible or prohibited."

"We issue a *fatwa* for the Imam (they mean Ibn Sa'ud) to destroy the mosques of Abu Hamnzah and Abu Rashid as soon as possible."

"Nevertheless with regard to secular laws and regulations, if any of them exist in Najd they must be removed instantly and laws are only pure and holy if they are the sacred laws of religion."

"With regard to the Egyptian pilgrims that enter Maccah with weapons and forces, we give a *fatwa* for the Imam to stop them and

prevent them from entering and ban them from expressing *shirk* and encouraging sins."

"We give a *fatwa* to prevent and stop the camel litters entering Masjid Al-Haram and for no one to be given the permission to touch or kiss the camel-litters. Also for the sinful acts and debauchery that are committed around the camel litters to be stopped and, where possible and if it does not cause a problem or depravity, to totally stop camel litters from entering Maccah."[1]

"Concerning the heretics we give the *fatwa* for their Imam to be forced to become Muslim and to be banned from expressing the sayings of his previous religion. Also it is necessary for the Imam (*Ibn Sa'ud) to order his deputy in Ahsa to make the Shi'ahs go to Shaykh Ibn Bishr so that they can swear allegiance to the religion of God and the Prophet; furthermore, for the Imam's deputy to force the Shi'ah to not call the pious ones from the Ahl al-Bayt and others for their wants and needs to be granted and not to carry out innovations such as having mourning ceremonies[2] (it seems the mourning

1. As it will be explained later on, many camel-litters, the most important of them being the Egyptian camel- litter, would enter Maccah playing music and carrying out other particular ceremonies and rituals. The first time the Wahhabis stopped the camel-litters entering Maccah was in 1221 A.H., and at that time they had occupied Maccah and they occupied it for some time (we explained about this occupation earlier on).
According to what is written in the book *Tarikh Maccah*, vol. 2, p. 135-136, when they let the Egyptian and Syrian camel-litters enter Maccah, they were subjected to the Sa'udi people's objections and they warned the princes of the camel-litters to not return to Maccah with camel-litters after this year. The next year they made the Syrian camel-litters return in the middle of the way, and the Egyptian camel-litters which had entered Maccah suddenly and without given notice were burnt. After Maccah fell into the hands of the Ottomans once again, bringing camel-litters was made customary until 1345 when it was totally banned.
2. The late Allamah Amini, who is the author of the famous *Al-Ghadir* book, gave a speech in Syria, which has been made into a little book called *Siratuna wa Sunnatana* and has been published. By relying on many Hadiths from the Sihah Al-Sitta and other books which are trustworthy in the eyes of the Sunnis, in this speech he proves that the Prophet (s) was aware that Husayn ('a) would be killed and the Prophet (s) mourned the death of Imam Husayn ('a) many times and cried for him, and so this was a part of the Sirah (*the way of life of the Prophet -s-) and Sunnah of the Prophet (s). Therefore, the Wahhabis who say they are the followers of the Sunnah and the Sirah of the Prophet (s) have to also accept this Sirah and not call it an innovation.

ceremonies of 'Ashura[1] are meant here) and other ceremonies. In addition, the Shi'ah must be banned from visiting holy sites and to be forced to gather in the mosque at the five daily prayer times. Also, for a congregational prayer leader, *mu'aththin* and deputies from the Sunnis to be appointed for them and to convince them and force them to learn the three bases of religion.[2] In the case that the Shi'ah have specific places where they carry out their innovations, those places must be ruined and they must not carry out their innovations in the mosques and other places. In addition, any Shi'ah of Ahsa that does not accept these matters must be thrown out of the Muslim lands."

"Ibn Bishr must uphold what was said regarding the heretics of Ahsa and the heretics of Qudaif also."

"With regard to the Iraqi heretics who have a relationship or interaction with the Wahhabis of the deserts of Najd, we give a *fatwa* to stop their Imam from entering the lands and pasture of the Muslims."

These *fatwas* also forced King to not allow camel-litters to enter anymore, to destroy the mosque of Hamnzah, and to stop the use of the wireless telegraph."[3]

The explanation of the camel-litters

Ibrahim Raf'at Pasha, who was in charge of the Egyptian camel litter and who was the Amir Al-Hajj in 1318A.H, 1320 A.H, 1321 A.H. and 1325A.H, says the following about the camel-litters:

"The camel-litter is made of a wooden board which is in the shape of a litter and is square. It has a roof and it goes up from the middle of each of the four sides till it reaches a perpendicular post which has a

1. The tenth day of the month of Muharram.
2. According to what Shaykh Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab has written in his thesis called '*Aqidat al-Firqa Al-Najiyyah*, p. 9), what is meant by the three bases of religion is for a slave to know his God, his religion and his Prophet (s).
3. Hafidh Wahbah, p. 312-317 to 321. –Mr. Mughniyyah says, "After the late Hajj Sayyid Muhsin Amin wrote the book called *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, in which he debated with the Wahhabis in a theoretical way, the Wahhabis adjusted their opinions about the Shi'ahs of Ahsa and Qatif" (*Hathihi Hiya Al-Wahhabiyyah*). The two areas of Ahsa and Qatif are in the Sa'udi country and many of the residents of these two regions are Shi'ah.

crescent on top of it. Normally this wooden structure is covered with silk coverings and sometimes it is covered with other materials, and when travelling they fasten it behind a camel."

Siuti says in *Al-Kanz al-Madfun* that: "The first person who established the bringing of camel-litters in Maccah was Hajaj bin Yusuf Thagafi." The author of *Durar al-Fawa'id* says that: "There were four camel litters from Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Yemen all sent one camel litter to Hejaz and in other years camel-litters which were from other places were also brought to Maccah. From among all the camel-litters the Iraqi camel-litter was the most splendid and magnificent camel-litter. The Syrian camel-litter started coming to Hejaz from the beginning of the tenth Hijrah century and at about the same time as this King Salim 'Uthmani sent a camel-litter from Rome carrying a cover for the Ka'bah with it. In the second half of the tenth Hijrah century a Yemen camel-litter was also sent to Maccah.

It is rumored that the first Egyptian camel-litter that entered Maccah was in 648 A.H. at the time of Shajarat Al-Dor (the servant of King Salih and the mother of King Jalil), who was the leader of Egypt. Shajarat Al-Dor travelled for Hajj with a camel-litter which was beautified with embroidery and decorated with silk and gems, and which carried many presents for the Ka'bah and the holy cell of the Prophet (s). Since then, sending camel-litters with presents for the Ka'bah and the Prophet's (s) cell continued."[1]

From that time onwards the ceremonies related to the camel-litter became more customary in Cairo every year and what one understands from Ibn Battuta's words is that the movement of the camel litter and particularly the songs that the cameleer's read, would encourage and rouse the people to go to Hajj.[2]

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1. *Mir'aat Al-Haramein*, vol. 2, p. 304. –They would circulate the camel-litter around Cairo twice, once in the month of Rajab and once in middle of the month of Shawwal. They would also have a celebratory party for it and they would decorate the streets that were on the way of the camel-litter. The people would rent the houses, shops and the roofs of the areas where the camel-litter passed so people could see the camel litters and the ceremonies that were carried out for them. *Mir'aat*, vol. 2, p. 308.
2. *Rihla* by Ibn Battuta, vol. 1, p. 26.

Sending the camel-litter to Iran

Sultan Abu Sa'id who was the son of Sultan Muhammad Khodabandeh, covered the Iraqi camel-litter with silk and he decorated it with gold, pearls, rubies and other types of jewels, which cost up to two hundred and fifty thousand dinars. He also made a fur covering for the litter and when they put the litter on the ground they would cover it with this covering.[1]

Another camel litter was also carried to Maccah from Iran. The writer (*i.e. Ali Asghar Faqihi) has described it in the book *Tarikh Madhabi Qum*. According to what Hasan Baik Roomlo has written with regard to the events that occurred in 875 A.H, this camel litter was decorated and they had endured different types of difficulties so that they could decorate it. It was also carried from Yazd to the city of Qum and particular ceremonies were carried out when it entered. From there it was sent to Maccah with Owais Baik, who was the Amir Al-Hajj, along with a large group of people traveling on horseback and on foot.[2]

One can consider it a possibility that the palm trees which were customarily sent decorated and with particular rituals on the days of 'Ashura to Yazd and some other places, and which is also more or less a custom now and has a complete similarity with the camel-litters that were described, are a remnant of the aforementioned camel-litters.

How the camel-litters were around the time they were stopped from entering Maccah

Until 1345 A.H (the year when the scholars of Najd issued a *fatwa* stating that the camel litters must be stopped from entering Maccah), two litters, one Egyptian and one Syrian, were sent to Maccah at the time of Hajj. These litters were decorated and the best ceremonial procedures were carried out for them. The litters were carried to Masjid Al-Haram by camel, and from there the litter was taken into Masjid Al-Haram carried on shoulders. They then took the litters to

1. *Mir'aat Al-Haramein*, vol. 2, p. 304.
2. *Ahsan Al-Tawarikh*, vol. 2, p. 518.

Arafat, Muzdalifa (Mash'ar Al-Haram) and Mina.[1] After performing their Hajj rites they took the litter to Medinah and from there they returned it back to Damascus.

A large number of people, who were either traveling on horseback or on foot, accompanied the litter and several cannons were also carried with it. Also a group of musicians moved along with the litter and played music. The Amir Al-Hajj, who was also the leader of the litter, traveled to Hajj along with the pilgrims from his country.

The people touched the litter so that they could be blessed, and they would also kiss it. To find out about the ceremonial procedures carried out when the camel-litter was moved, and how they honored and respected it and to find out about when the Sharif of Maccah officially came to see the litter, refer to the book Mir'aat Al-Haramain by Rifa'at Pasha.[2]

In the aforementioned book beautiful pictures of the litter and the people around it are shown in different ways, and have been published.

Covering the Ka'bah, circumstances of the eunuchs and how the holy Ka'bah was washed and perfumed

Since readers are interested in finding out about these three subjects, and especially those that have been to Hajj, we will therefore give a short explanation of each subject.

The cloth over the Ka'bah

Azraqi says, "The first person who covered the whole Ka'bah during the age of ignorance was Tubba'[3] (the name of one of the dynasties of the kings of Old Yemen). This covering was made of a type of tanned[4]

1. Places in Maccah that one must visit during Hajj time and where certain Hajj rites are carried out.
2. The book *Bada'i Al-Zuhur*, vol. 4-5, has repeatedly talked about the ceremonial procedures related to the carrying of the litter in the ninth and tenth Hijrah centuries.
3. Tubba' or Asa'd Abu Karb was one of the Homair kings who lived around two centuries before Hejra (*immigration of Prophet -s- from Maccah to Medina). Note: all the kings of this dynasty were called Tubba'.
4. Here tanning means to convert animal skin to leather.

skin which the Tubba‘ then weaved with *hebara*. *Hebara* is a type of material that is woven in Yemen.[1]

Since then it was made customary for the Ka’bah to be covered every year. However, the material that was used to prepare the cloth of the Ka’bah was not from one type of material but rather they connected different materials to one another. Whenever a part of this cloth tore or became worn out, they would sew a new material in its place. When the Prophet (s) was still living in Maccah and had not immigrated to Medinah yet, the covering of the Ka’bah consisted of different pieces of materials such as leather, a type of material like hessian and good quality carpets, which were woven in Dasht-e-Mishan[2].

According to one saying, before the appearance of Islam the Quraysh tribe had made an agreement which was that every tribe would pay a share of the cost of the Ka’bah’s covering, and each tribe gave however much they could based on their financial means. This tradition was carried on until Rubai’at bin Mughaira arrived. Rubai’at bin Mughaira had become wealthy because of his business trips to Yemen, and he made an arrangement with the Quraysh tribe that he would prepare and pay for the covering of the Ka’bah by himself for one year. After that year bin Mughaira continued to pay for the covering of the Ka’bah every year and he covered the Ka’bah with *hebara* or a high quality stripped cloth from Yemen.[3]

The covering of the Ka’bah in the Islamic era

From the time of the Prophet (s) it was tradition to cover the Ka’bah on the day of ‘Ashura because all the pilgrims left Maccah before the tenth of Muharram (and so it was not feared that the cloth might be ripped by the pilgrims). Afterwards, it became customary for the upper part of the Ka’bah, which pilgrims cannot reach, to be covered on the day of Tarwiyyah (eighth of Dhil-Hijja) and the lower part to be covered on the day of ‘Ashura.

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1. *Akhabar Maccah*, vol. 1, p. 249-250. –However Fasi says, “The first person who put a covering on the Ka’bah was Prophet Isma’il (Ishmael).
2. District in Khurasan (eastern province of Iran).
3. *Akhabar Maccah*, vol. 1, extracted from pp. 250-251.

The Prophet (s) covered the Ka'bah with a material woven in Yemen. 'Umar and 'Uthman covered the Ka'bah with a thin white material made in Egypt. Hajjaj (bin Yusuf) covered the Ka'bah with fine silk. Mu'awiyyah placed two coverings for the Ka'bah: one was made of fine silk and was put on the Ka'bah on the day of 'Ashura, and one was made of a thin white material made in Egypt and was put on the Ka'bah at the end of the month of Ramadhan.

Yazid and Abdullah Zubair covered the Ka'bah with fine silk (in some copies it says the silk was from Khorasan[1]) which was majestic and kingly. Abd Al-Malik Marwan would make the covering of the Ka'bah from fine silk and would send it. On the way they would spread this silk out in the Prophet's (s) mosque and they would tie it to the pillars (so that the people could see it) and then they would pick it up and take it to Maccah.

In the Islamic era, they would not dress the Ka'bah with extra and worn out materials and they would dress it with new clothes. This was not done in the age of ignorance. Sometimes they would cut the old covering of the Ka'bah into pieces and would divide it between the pilgrims, just as 'Umar did.[2]

The caliphs more or less changed the texture and the appearance of the covering of the Ka'bah. In the third and fourth century the whole of the Ka'bah was covered apart from the pillar where Hajar Al-Aswad[3] is placed. The length of the section of the pillar that was left uncovered amounted to the stature of one man and a half. When Hajj time arrived they would cover the Ka'bah with white Khurasani silk and in Eid Al-Adha they would cover the Ka'bah with red Khurasani silk.[4] The governor, 'Ubaidi, and his grandson Al-Mustansar (who were from the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt in the fifth century) would make the covering of the Ka'bah from white silk.

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1. Eastern province of Iran.
2. *Akhbar Maccah*, summarised and extracted from p. 252-259.
3. The black stone.
4. In the third and fourth centuries, the covering of the Ka'bah was made from Shooshtar silk and it was carried to Maccah, *Tajarob Al-Umam*, vol. 6, p. 407. Also according to what Abu Ali Maskoya has written, 'Abod Al-Dowla Dailami would send the covering of the Ka'bah.

In 466 A.H, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi sent a covering for the Ka'bah which was made from yellow silk. At the beginning of the leadership of Nasir Abbasi (sixth century), the Ka'bah was dressed with a green material. It was at the time of the leadership of Nasir Abbasi that a covering made of black silk with yellow borders was prepared for the Ka'bah[1], and today it is approximately the same that it was then.

After the fall of the Abbasids in Baghdad, the covering of the Ka'bah was sometimes sent by the kings of Yemen and sometimes it was sent by the kings of Egypt. In 750 A.H, the Egyptian King Salih Isma'il endowed three villages in Egypt for the covering of the Ka'bah. He arranged it so that by using the income of these villages the Ka'bah would be dressed with a covering every year and the Prophet's (s) cell and pulpit would be dressed with a covering every five years.[2]

In 947, King Salim 'Uthmani brought a few other villages and added it on to the endowed properties by King Salih. In those times it was customary to write the verses of the Qur'an and God's names on the border of the curtain (*i.e. covering of Ka'bah). It was also tradition for the Egyptian Amir Al-Hajj to take the curtain to Maccah and to carry out particular ceremonial procedures when taking it.

The Sa'udi princes also dressed the Ka'bah on certain occasions. For example, Sa'ud bin Abdul-Aziz, who ruled from 1218 to 1229, performed Hajj nine times and in every year that he went to Hajj he dressed the Ka'bah with a silk covering.[3]

The covering of the Ka'bah at present

The aforementioned endowments stayed as they were for around four centuries and the holy covering of the Ka'bah was prepared using the income of the endowments. In the beginning of the thirteenth Hijrah century, Muhammad Ali Pasha took away the endowments and he placed the endowed crown properties of the monarchy as a part of public property and he prescribed that the covering of the Ka'bah should be prepared and paid for by the government. This was carried

1. Extracted from the book *Shifa' Al-Gharam*, vol. 1, p. 122.
2. *Mir'aat Al-Haramein*, vol. 1, p. 284.
3. *Ibn Bishr*, vol. 1, an account of the events from 1218 to 1229.

out until the time of Amir Al-Hajj Raf'at Pasha, meaning that it was carried out in 1320A.H, 1321A.H. and 1325 A.H.[1]

The covering of the Ka'bah was sent from Egypt until approximately 1340 A.H. In 1341 there was a dispute between the government of Egypt and the government of Sharif Husayn . The reason for the dispute was that when the Egyptian camel-litter, the cloth of the Ka'bah, the fixed amount of wheat (to be divided among the people), the guards of the camel-litter, those in charge of the litter and the medical group reached Jeddah by ship, Sharif Husayn refused to allow the medical group to enter Maccah. Therefore the ship carrying the camel-litter, cloth of the Ka'bah, wheat and the money they had brought with them and other goods, returned to Egypt at the end of the month of Dhil-Qa'dah.

During the World War (1914-1918), because the Ottoman government thought that it was possible that the English government would not allow Egypt to send a covering for the Ka'bah, and that the Ka'bah could possibly stay without a covering, they made a curtain (*i.e. covering) which was very beautiful, strong, elegant and with borders which were sown with gold and silver threads. The covering was sent from Egypt as usual but the covering which was presented and offered by the Ottoman government stayed in Medinah.

At this point in time, when the Egyptian covering and camel-litter was sent back to Egypt and there wasn't much time left of the Hajj days, Sharif Husayn sent a telegraph to the Prince of Medinah telling him to send the presented covering by the Ottomans to the Rabigh Port straight away. Sharif Husayn also sent a ship from Jeddah to the Rabigh Port and the Ottoman covering was rapidly sent from Medinah to Maccah. It reached Maccah on the day that they usually dress the Ka'bah with a new covering—the tenth of Dhil Hijja.

In 1344, after Sharif Husayn was no longer the leader of Hejaz's government and Abdul-Aziz bin Sa'ud had occupied Hejaz, the covering of the Ka'bah was sent from Egypt as usual. However in this

1. *Mir'aat Al-Haramein*, vol. 1, p. 284. –From the time when the Ottomans had control over Egypt and Hejaz, which is from 1228, it was tradition for the covering of the inside of the Ka'bah and for the covering of the Prophet's (s) cell to be sent by the Ottoman kings and for the covering outside the Ka'bah, which is on the Ka'bah and is in view, to be sent as usual from Egypt.

year the camel-litter incident[1] occurred and this resulted in the Egyptian government not sending a covering for the Ka'bah the next year. On the first day of the lunar month of Dhil Hijja (1345) of the same year, Ibn Sa'ud ordered his minister of finance, who was called Shaykh Abdullah Sulayman, to prepare the covering of the Ka'bah before the tenth day of the same month, and the covering was prepared before that date.

The factory which prepared the Ka'bah's cloth

After covering the Ka'bah became known as one of the pious and good acts, it gradually entered the political arena. It was for this reason that on the first of Muharram 1346, Ibn Sa'ud ordered the aforementioned Shaykh Abdullah to build a factory which was specifically made to prepare the Ka'bah's covering. He arranged for it to be built in the Ijyad area (in Maccah) on a land which was opposite the Ministry of Finance and which had an area of one thousand five hundred square meters. Within six months the first floor was built. This was the first time that a specific place was set up for making the covering of the Ka'bah.

After that the King ordered the workers that were to prepare the covering of the Ka'bah, sew its borders and make the curtain that is placed on the door of the Ka'bah to be brought from India. The person in charge of sending these workers was Shaykh Isma'il Ghaznavi, one of the scholars of India.

At the beginning of the month of Rajab, and in 1346 A.H, the Indian weavers and workers entered Maccah with their working equipment and with the rolls of material that were needed. There were 12 rolls of material and there were 40 weavers, who were head artisans, and embroiderers (gold embroiderers and border writers), who had twenty other people helping them. In the same year and at the end of the

1. The camel-litter incident was as follows: the Egyptians as they usually did every year played music when they stopped at Mina. The Sa'udi officers made an objection about this to them and little by little it became worse and turned into a very intense dispute between the two sides. It was feared that a number of the Egyptian pilgrims were going to die because of the shootings. However, the king intervened and the dispute was ended.

month of Dhil Qa'dah, the covering of the Ka'bah was prepared and woven in the best possible way.

The covering was made from a particular black silk and:
" لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله" was woven all over the material, and in every part of the covering verses of the Qur'an were written.[1]
On the north side of the curtain and towards Hajar Al-Aswad the name of King Abdul-Aziz was written along with the following: 'This covering was woven in the holy and great city of Maccah by order of the servant of Haramain Al-Sharifain, his majesty Imam Abdul-Aziz bin Abd Al-Rahman Faisal Al Sa'ud, the king of the country of Sa'udi Arabia, in 1346 A.H.' Until the month of Ramadhan 1355 the covering of the Ka'bah was prepared and woven in this way. However in this year because of a treaty, the dispute between Egypt and the Sa'udi country ended, and it was decided that Egypt should send the covering of the Ka'bah as it used to do before. In addition, because of a pledge Egypt made with regard to the covering of the Ka'bah, the factory which made the covering of the Ka'bah (*in Maccah) was closed down. The following was written on the borders of the covering that Egypt sent: 'His Majesty the king of Egypt, Faruq Awwal, gave the order to weave this cloth and it was presented to the Ka'bah at the time of his majesty Abdul-Aziz Al Sa'ud king of the country of Sa'udi in 1355 A.H.' In this year two misunderstandings occurred between the Sa'udi and Egyptian governments and this resulted in the factory being reopened and from then on the covering of the Ka'bah was made in this factory.[2]

The covering of the Ka'bah is made from eight parts. For each of the four sides of the Ka'bah two parts are used. First they spread the covering out on the court of Masjid Al-Haram and then they sew the parts together. The parts for each section are then tied strongly together. Then people who are on the roof of the Ka'bah throw down the ropes that are needed. These ropes are tied to the four parts of the covering of the Ka'bah and then they are pulled up onto the roof. This happens every year on the eighth of Dhil Hijja. The covering from the previous year is detached and unstitched and then they hang the new

1. Extracted from the book, *Tarikh Al-Ka'bah Al-Mu'adhdhama,* prom p. 262 onwards.
2. *Al-Tarikh Al-Qawim wa Allah Al-Karim*, vol. 4, p. 221-224.

covering down, and then different parts of the covering are sewn while hanging down the Ka'bah and this takes several days. The belt (*i.e. border) of the Ka'bah is made up of eight parts and verses of the Qur'an are written on it and between the verses of Qur'an the words: "يا حنان و يا منان" -***"O Charitable One, O Benefactor",*** have been written. Apart from the belt there are four other parts which have Surah Al-Ikhlas written on them, and which are sewn below the belt of each of the four pillars. The way they sew these on, is that they hang down boards of wood from the Ka'bah with the person who does the sewing sitting on the board. These people are hung in front of the area that needs to be sewn.[1]

The servants and eunuchs

Mu'awiyyah was the first person to appoint a group of servants to serve in Masjid Al-Haram and the Ka'bah, and this tradition carried on and still continues today. Now the servants of the Ka'bah and mosque are eunuchs who are not slaves because their masters have freed them and have left them to serve in the Haram. The eunuchs are paid a fixed amount every month and they have an organization, and their leader is one of them (*i.e. their leader is also a eunuch). Normally whoever has worked longer is chosen as the leader.

The servants mentioned above are in charge of cleaning the circle in which the pilgrims circulate the Ka'bah, Hajar Al-Aswad, Maqam Ibrahim and the paved stones in the area of the circumambulation. Before the mosque was lit with electricity, they were in charge of lighting candlesticks from sunset until after 'Isha prayers and from the break of dawn until it was light. They were also in charge of lighting the lanterns that were hanging from the surrounding pillars. They carried out specific ceremonies when lighting candles and lanterns, and these ceremonies have remained until today.

Salah Al-Din Ayyubi and, according to one saying, Noor Al-Din Kord were the first people to place a number of eunuchs as servants in Masjid Al-Haram.[2]

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1. Ibid, p. 232-233.
2. *Mir'aat Al-Haramein*, vol. 1, p. 459. –Ibn Battuta says, "In our time a man called Abu Abdullah Qarnati castrated himself so that he would not be affected by

Washing inside the Ka'bah

The inside of the Ka'bah has been washed since the Prophet's (s) time (on the day Maccah was conquered) until today.

At present, the Ka'bah is washed twice a year, once before Hajj starts (usually the end of Dhil Qa'dah) and once after the pilgrims have left Maccah.

The way in which the Ka'bah is washed is as follows: on the morning of the day that has been chosen to wash the Ka'bah, the chief of the key holders[1] of the Ka'bah along with the other Al Shaibi[2] key holders gather outside the Ka'bah after sunrise. They then open the door of the Ka'bah. Those who are accompanying the key holders and the servants of the key holders go and bring jugs full of rose water, bottles full of the perfume of red rose, different types of incense and ambergris, aloes wood and other perfumes. Those who wash inside the Ka'bah tie loincloths made of a cashmere shawl around their waists.

It is tradition for the head of the key holders to invite the statesmen, kings, princes, governors, ministers, judges and the leaders of offices[3] to come and see the ceremonial procedure of washing the Ka'bah. Before the guests arrive, everything that is needed to wash inside the Ka'bah is prepared. The leader of the people who are in charge of the Zamzam Well and who are in charge of giving water to the pilgrims, brings several buckets full of water from the Zamzam Well, and the key holders take the water inside the Ka'bah. When all of these have been prepared the guests enter the Ka'bah, and each one of the guests ties a loincloth to his waist and holds a broom in his hand (the brooms that are needed are normally prepared by the head of the endowments), and all together they start washing inside the Ka'bah with water that has been mixed with rose water.[4]

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temptations, and so became one of the servants and *mu'aththins* of the Prophet's (s) mosque", vol. 1, p. 74.

1. People who are entrusted with the keys of the Ka'bah.
2. We have already explained about Bani Shaiba, the key holders of the Ka'bah, under the title of Ibn Sa'ud in Maccah.
3. 'Leaders of offices' are the people from different classes that were mentioned and who performed the Hajj rites.
4. The best rose water needed to wash the Ka'bah is sent by Iran, and it has been so for a long time.

First the floor of the Ka'bah and then some of the walls in the Ka'bah are washed, then rose water is rubbed from the bottom of the walls up to about the stature of a man. Then they perfume the walls with the perfume of red rose and other perfumes. After washing and drying the floor and walls of the Ka'bah, they divide the brooms between the people who have gathered outside.[1]

The dispute between the Ikhwan sect and Ibn Sa'ud

Faisal Dawish, who is one of the leaders of the Ikhwan sect and who led the Ikhwan sect in a revolt that happened later on, took some measures which led to Ibn Sa'ud being faced with a new problem. In the month of October 1927 Faisal Dawish sent a small number of forces to the Bossiyyah region, which is located on the borders of Najd and Iraq. These forces killed several officers who were guarding the borders.

This attack caused problems and upsets between the English and the Sa'udi government and in the end Sir Gilbert Clayton was sent by the English government to the Sa'udi country to negotiate about this matter with Sultan Abdul-Aziz. Discussions were held in Jeddah between the two sides but it did not achieve the desired outcome.

After the aforesaid negotiations, the King went from Hejaz to Najd and he ordered a gathering to be organized in the month of Jumada al-Ula in 1347. This public meeting took place in one of the courtyards of King's palace in Riyadh. Around eight hundred scholars and leaders, both townsmen and Bedouins participated in this meeting. However, Dawish and Ibn Bijad (the main heads of the Ikhwan sect) did not participate in this meeting.

In this meeting, Ibn Sa'ud first talked about his efforts to unite the Arabian Peninsula; he then said that he would give up his leadership and that he pledged to help anyone else that would be chosen to be leader from the Sa'ud household. In his speech he said that Dawish is responsible for the latest disputes with the English. The matter of

1. A summary from the book *Tarikh Al-Ka'bah Al-Mu'adhdhama*, p. 326-328. – However in these last few years the inside of the Ka'bah is washed with the best quality rose water which is brought from the city of Qamsar in Kashan on the 6th day of Dhil-Hijja and particular ceremonies are carried out when they want to wash inside the Ka'bah.

giving up the leadership was not accepted and agreed by those who were present; therefore, they swore allegiance to Ibn Sa'ud once again.

The main outcome of the meeting that was held was that it roused the people's feelings against the Ikhwan sect. However, those people who were with Ibn Bijad and Dawish did not pay any attention to the actions that were taken against them, and they spread among the houses of the Ikhwan that they were busy dealing with religion and the religious laws which Ibn Sa'ud had nearly destroyed. They also spread that Ibn Sa'ud wanted to be king and was the friend of *kafirs* and partners with them in everything.

The group from the Ikhwan sect that followed Ibn Bajad and Dawish plundered the borders of Kuwait and Iraq and they also did not fear plundering the Najd caravans, and they would kill anyone they could get their hands on because they thought everyone else apart from themselves was a *kafir*. Ibn Sa'ud realized that all his efforts in these thirty years would be wasted by these acts. The people of Najd and a large group of the Ikhwan sect gathered around Ibn Sa'ud and they wanted to stop Dawish and Ibn Bijad. A group of scholars also accompanied this large group of people.

At first, letters and messages were exchanged between both sides. It was one of these days that one of Ibn Bijad's companions who was carrying a letter for Ibn Sa'ud failed to say *salaam* when he saw Ibn Sa'ud because he believed that Ibn Sa'ud was an innovator.

In any case, this led to conflicts and war. On the second day of the war the Ikhwan were defeated and they fled from the battlefield. Ibn Bijad ran away and Faisal Dawish was injured and captured. Ibn Bijad surrendered after three days and was imprisoned[1] (March 1929 which corresponds to 1348).

Removing the Ikhwan disturbances

After Ibn Sa'ud defeated Ibn Bijad he returned to Hejaz. Ibn Bijad was in prison and it was thought that Dawish would die due to his injuries. However Dawish's health improved and he went to the borders of Kuwait and Ahsa and a group gathered around him and

1. *Jazirat al-Arab fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin,* p. 321 onwards.

sedition and chaos started once again. Gradually, this group grew larger and the means of communication between Riyadh and Maccah were cut off. Ibn Sa'ud decided to fight with him once again and for one year letters and messages were exchanged between both sides. In the end, Dawish seeing he did not have the power to fight, surrendered to the English who had intervened in this dispute. The English gave Dawish to Ibn Sa'ud. From 1930 A.D. (1349 A.H.) onwards, the Ikhwan disturbances were totally eliminated and abolished, and the people who were from the Ikhwan sect obeyed the government like the rest of the people in those regions. Sultan Abdul-Aziz started a new life in his country peacefully and calmly. He installed wireless telegraphs between the cities, and he also set up the wireless telephone between Maccah and Riyadh.[1] At the time of King Sa'ud (King Abdul-Aziz bin Sa'ud's successor) the population of the Ikhwan sect was twenty thousand people. Ten thousand of them were in Hejaz and the others were in Najd and other areas. They were all armed and they would receive a payment from the government, and some of them were satisfied with receiving weapons from the government.[2] The Ikhwan still continue with their ways.

The words of Ahmad Amin

Ahmad Amin, who is a famous Egyptian writer, has said some things in his research about the Wahhabis and it seems suitable to quote it here: "The Wahhabis did not think about the new civilization and its problems and needs. Many of them believed that apart from their own country other Muslim countries were not Muslim countries because they believed (in their opinion) that innovations have spread throughout these countries. They believed that they had to go to war with the other Muslim countries. When Ibn Sa'ud became leader, he was faced with two powers which he had no choice but to get along with. One was the leader of religious matters in Najd who totally

1. Idem, a summary of p. 325 onwards. We have quoted most of the things that were related to the Ikhwan sect from this book. This book was written in 1354 A.H. and its author is Hafidh Wahbah, who was one of the Sa'udi statesmen and one of the informed Sa'udi men who witnessed many of the events and took part in some of them.

2. Al-*Mamlakah Al-Arabiyyah Al-Sa'udiyyah Kama Araftaha*, p. 88, quoted from Ibn Sa'ud.

abided by the teaching of Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and would oppose anything that was new, such as the wireless and non-wireless telegraphs, cars and bicycles which they considered to be innovations not in accordance with religion. The other was the wave of new civilization which had a lot of equipment and facilities that the government needed. The government chose the middle line between these two powers, and so, for example, it acknowledged other Muslim countries as Muslims and also placed state teachings alongside religious teachings and Ibn Sa'ud managed this government based on this new system and made it strong. He allowed cars, planes and the wireless to enter his country and be used in his country and he did other similar things. In practice it was very difficult to make the scholars of Najd, the circumstances of time, and the nature of the Bedouins agree and be compatible with the needs of civilization.[1]

1. *Zu'ama al-Islah fil-'Asr Al-Jadid*, p. 20-21.

CONCLUSION
The Wahhabi sect
(Outside Najd and Hejaz)

From the very start of the Wahhabi ideology, many efforts were made to make it a worldwide ideology. It is for this reason that after occupying Najd, the Wahhabis started to occupy the neighbouring regions. However, with all the hard work they put in, the desired outcome was not achieved and the people would not give up their beliefs.

After they occupied Hejaz, they had a good opportunity to spread their teachings in other countries to the many people that had come from different countries to perform Hajj and who had come to visit the Prophet's (s) holy grave. They had this opportunity the first time they occupied Hejaz and which was taken out of their hands by Ali Pasha, and also in the second time they occupied Hejaz, which we described and explained earlier. Therefore most of the people that tried to spread the Wahhabi ideology in other countries were the people who had come to Haramain Al-Sharifain to perform Hajj and then had been influenced and affected by the Wahhabi teachings.

We will now discuss the influence of the Wahhabi faith in other parts of the world. You are reminded that with all the hard work and endeavour that was put in, the Wahhabi faith did not gain much influence outside Najd and Hejaz and it was not accepted in the way they thought it would be. This was due to reasons we have pointed out earlier.

In India

India was influenced by the Wahhabi ideology and became the source of discussions and disputes. This was because from the old times India was the centre of different religions and it accepted new opinions and new callings.

A letter was written by Mowlavi Asghar Ali Hindi Faidhi to Shaykh Husayn Hilmi Istanboli. One can find a photocopy of this letter at the end of the book *Al-Sawa'iq Al-Ilahiyyah* by Shaykh Sulayman Nejdi, and it has also been published in the thesis called *Fitnat Al-Wahhabiyyah* by Sayyid Ahmad Zayni Dahlan. The following is written in this letter: "A section of the daily newspaper called *Chand Reek*, has published a summary of the debate that took place between 1/4/76 and 12/4/76. This debate was between the Sunni people and the soldiers of holy war (*or fighters), and took place in the city of Kalikoot. This section of the daily newspaper is enclosed in this letter." Faidhi then writes, "There are different types of innovators in our country, such as the Wahhabis, whose new name is the Mujahidiyun (*i.e. soldiers of holy war). In addition, there is the Mudowdiyun sect, who are now named the Islamic Society sect, and also the Qadiyaniyyah sect. Also there is the Ahl Al-Qur'an sect that only believes in the Qur'an and do not believe in the Prophetic Hadiths." In this letter Faidhi has also written, "The Wahhabis have schools and colleges in our country, such as the Sollam Al-Salam School in Arikoot, Madinat Al-Oloom in the city of Bolkil, and the Al-Ansar school in Wilanoor." This letter shows that the other Islamic sects in India fought severely against the Wahhabi influence. Previously we pointed out several books that have been written in rejection to the beliefs of the Wahhabis. We will now give a short account of the lives of two missionaries, who advertised the Wahhabi faith in India.

Sayyid Ahmad Hindi

Sayyid Ahmad is the son of Muhammad 'Irfan and is one of the descendants of Imam Hasan Al-Mujtaba ('a). He was born on the first day of the month of Muharram in 1201 A.H., in the city of Baareel. At first he started his studies in Lakanhu but then he went to Delhi to continue his studies. Until 1222, he studied next to Shah Abdul-Aziz Sufi, who was Shah Wali Allah's eldest son. It is said that the religious thoughts and opinions that Sayyid Muhammad later became famous for were suggested and proposed to him by Shah Abdul-Aziz.

After Sayyid Ahmad spent several years studying, he decided to go on a religious trip intending to preach and give out advice. Sayyid Ahmad's beliefs were the same as the Wahhabi Arabs in some

aspects; for example, he believed that honouring the Prophets and messengers was inconsistent with worshipping God.

His most important and closest students in his travels were both related to Shah Abdul-Aziz. One of them was Shah Abdul-Aziz's brother and was called Mowlavi Muhammad Isma'il, who was the author of the book *Sirah al-Mustaqim*, which is written in Indian and is an important book in the eyes of Sayyid Ahmad's followers. His other student was Mowlavi Abd Al-Hay, who was Abdul-Aziz's son-in-law.

Sayyid Ahmad's calling reached everywhere and thousands of Muslims accepted his beliefs and opinions, and swore allegiance to him. The allegiance was based on accepting that was is the true caliph and the awaited saviour. Mowlavi Abd Al-Ahad has written a book about Sayyid Ahmad's life and he says, "Forty something thousand Indians and *kafirs* were affected and influenced by Sayyid Ahmad's ideology and so they chose Islam."

In 1232 A.H, Sayyid Ahmad left the country he was born in to go to Hajj and on the way to Hajj he stayed in Calcutta for a few months. His journey to Hajj and back took two years. After returning he wanted to announce holy war in Punjab to free the Muslims from a Hindu and Sikh government. After he was assured that he would receive support and help from the Muslims in Kabul and Kandahar, he began his attack in 1241. He had ten or eleven thousand soldiers and helpers, who fought bravely for his cause.

Sayyid Ahmad attacked the borders of Peshawar and this conflict continued for several years. In 1246 Shaykh Ahmad was killed in a very difficult war, which took place in the Balkoot region. When Shaykh Ahmad was killed, most of his army fled.[1]

Ahmad Amin says, "Sayyid Ahmad accepted the Wahhabi faith on his journey to Hajj, and so after he returned he started to invite people to accept Wahhabism. He prohibited visiting graves, placing someone as one's intercessor and similar matters, and he announced that India was the land of warfare and was the enemy territory rather than a territory of peace.

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1. *Islamic Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, pp. 496, 497. –In this book Sayyid Ahmad's conflicts with the colonisation of the English have not been mentioned.

Sayyid Ahmad and his followers fought with the English government (who had occupied India at that time) and so enmity arose between both sides. Some were sacrificed because of this enmity, but nothing important was achieved by these sacrifices."[1]

After Sayyid Ahmad, his student, who was called Karamat Ali, took his place. Karamat Ali issued a *fatwa* stating that performing Friday prayers was obligatory; however, he did not name other Muslim countries enemy territories.[2]

One must pay attention to the fact that Sayyid Ahmad was a famous Indian reformist, unlike Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. These two were approximately contemporaries with each other, and they both fought for the freedom of India. However, Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that freeing India with war and bloodshed would not achieve anything, and that they had to use the same weapons that the colonizers used to gain victory in India and other places. This meant that India should be freed by way of intellectual and educational progress, expanding science and manufacturing, opening up schools and making the people literate. It was Sayyid Ahmad Khan who established the famous Aligarh University in India.

Mowlavi Isma'il Dahlavi

Khaja Muhammad Hasan Hindi, the author of the book called *Al-Usul Al-Arba'ah fi Tardid Al-Wahhabiyyah* written in Persian, says: "This tribe's (he means the Wahhabi tribe) most important scholar in India was Mowlavi[3] Isma'il Dahlavi, who started to express his beliefs in 1250 A.H. He translated Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab Najdi's book, *Taqwiyyat al-Iman*, to Persian and he circulated it among the people. He then wrote the thesis *Sirah al-Rasa'il* and other theses for both the Sunni and Shi'ah to mislead the Muslims. His students, such as Abdullah Ghaznavi, Nathir Husayn Dahlavi, Siddiq Hasan Khan Behowpaali, Rashid Ahmad Gangoohi, and some of the people and students from the Divow Bandiyya School added more books to this list and they wrote many books and theses. They trapped many people using their sly and cunning intelligence, and made the people follow

1. *Zu'ama al-Islah Fil-'Asr al-Hadith*, p. 126.
2. *Al-Islam fi al-Qarn al-'Ishrin*, p. 81.
3. The word Mowlavi in Indian means Sir or Mr.

them. The most recent people in this sect chose two methods to spread their beliefs. One group pretended they were narrators of Hadiths and renounced *following the religious opinions* of anyone (*i.e. *taqlid*). This group also said that the deceased great scholars who were pious people and Awliyya' Allah were *mushriks* and innovators.

The second group choose hypocrisy and hid themselves under the veil of the Hanafi school of thought. They practise Hanafi beliefs but in truth, they are the companions of the first group and have the same opinions as the first group. When they express their Wahhabi beliefs they have in mind the disgust the people have with regard to the Wahhabi beliefs. They believed this trickery, which was to pretend to be Hanafi, would make them achieve their aims and to be honest this trickery has helped them do this. The harm this group did by tricking people and destroying Islamic beliefs is more than the harm the first group did. Therefore most of our discussions in this book are about this group."[1]

Nathir Husayn

As we said before, Nathir Husayn was one of Isma'il Dahlavi's students, who also expressed Wahhabi beliefs in the city of Delhi and issued *fatwas* and rulings according to Wahhabi beliefs. Muhammad Abd Al-Rahman has written a thesis in rejection of Nathir's beliefs. This thesis rejects Nathir's renunciation of *taqlid*.

Sayyid Muhammad Sanussi (North Africa)

Sayyid Muhammad Sanussi was born in 1800 A.D (1220 A.H.), in the city of Mostaghanem (in Algeria). He came from a noble family that was related to the household of the Prophet (s).

From childhood, he was interested and liked studying and gaining knowledge and he tried to be virtuous and pious. He learnt religious sciences in the Fez University (this means al-Qarawiyyin University in Fez, which in the Islamic world is known as the second Al-Azhar). He then occupied himself with tourism in North Africa and, while he was visiting different places, he invited people to reform their

1. *Al-Usul al-Araba'a*, pp. 1, 2. –This thesis has been written in rejection to the beliefs of the followers of Isma'il Dahlavi.

religious beliefs. He then went to Maccah and stayed there for some time. In the time that he was in Maccah he learnt the Wahhabi teachings from the head scholars of the Wahhabi faith. In 1843 A.D. (1263 A.H.) he returned to North Africa and resided in Tripoli in Barbary (Libya). People would come in groups from all the areas of North Africa to visit him. At that time Tripoli was under the rule of the Ottomans, and the Ottoman officials feared his influence. Therefore, the relationship between the Ottomans and Sanussi became unsure and uneasy. Hence Sayyid Muhammad went to the Jaghbub oasis, situated in the south of the Libyan desert. He died in 1859A.D. (1279A.H.) by which time his innovative ways and beliefs had spread and were known by the people in North Africa. Sayyid Mahdi Sanussi took his father's place and tried to strengthen his father's ways and beliefs so that they were accepted and so that they spread among the people.[1]

The above was a summary of the writings of the American Lothrop Stoddard. Shakib Arslan says the following against the American writer's book when stating his teachings: "The enmity between the Sanussis and the Europeans was more severe than the enmity they had with other dervish[2] sects. The Sanussi way was to fight with the *kafirs* and to gather and unite the Muslims against common enemies. Sayyidi[3] Muhammad bin Ali, the leader and the founder of the Sanussi way and sect, was independent in his opinions on Islamic jurisprudence and he was not bound to one of the sects. (It is written in the marginal note of the above annotation that the writer (Shakib Arslan) asked Ahmad Sharif, who was Sayyid Muhammad bin Ali's grandson and successor, whether this was true. He denied it was true and said his grandfather followed the Salaf[4] (which means the Salaf Salih, just as the Wahhabis say)). In any case, Sayyid Muhammad entered the Al-Azhar university in 1839 A.D. (1259 A.H.). One of the

1. A summary from *Hadhir Al-'Alam Al-Islami*, vol. 1, p. 295.
2. Even though it is possible that the Sanussis were supporters of the Wahhabi sect, they are also counted as dervishes. Just as the custom for the dervish, they would build an area everywhere where they would pray congregational prayers, read Qur'an and handle and deal with the issues that their followers had.
3. In North Africa sometimes the word 'Sayyidi' and 'Mowlay' is put in front of names, like 'Mowlavi' in Pakistan and India, and like Agha (*Mr or sir) in Iran.
4. Devout ancestors.

scholars there warned him about thinking independently[1] and he issued a *fàtwa* stating that independent thinking was against the laws of religion. Also it is rumoured that when he was residing in Maccah he was inclined to some of the principles and beliefs of the Wahhabis (in the aforementioned annotation it is said that the Sanussis do not accept this)."

At first Sayyid Muhammad made an agreement with Sayyid Ahmad bin Idris al-Fasi, who was the shaykh of Qadiriyya. Then after his death he established the new ways and beliefs and in 1855 A.D (1275A.H.) he made Jaghbub his centre. This city was in the middle of Africa, and it gradually changed into an area, which had the biggest school for the advocators of Islam. The Sanussis made the Chad Lake, which is in the middle of Africa, the centre of Islam. It was estimated that the Sanussis had four million followers (around forty to fifty years ago). The Sanussis spread and advocated Islam among the African tribes by using black children, who were slaves. They would buy these black children and would educate them in Jaghbub and other places, and when these black slaves reached adulthood and when they had studied the required amount of sciences, they would free them to go and live with their own people to give their own people guidance. Every year hundreds of these missionaries are spread throughout inner Africa, from the shores of Somalia in the east to the shores of Senegal in the west.

The main aim of Sayyid Muhammad and his sons was to free the religion of Islam from the influence of outsiders.[2]

There is some doubt as to whether Sayyid Ahmad Sanussi was the propagator of Wahhabi beliefs and sources show that he had his own particular way of thinking and therefore he must not be considered to be a Wahhabi representative.

In Sudan

One of the first people who was influenced by the Wahhabi call and tried very hard to spread it outside Najd and Hejaz, was a man called Shaykh 'Uthman Dan Fodio. Shaykh 'Uthman came from the Fula (or

1. *i.e. to not follow the Salaf Salih's ways and their teachings.
2. *Hadhir Al-'Alam Al-Islami*, vol. 2, p. 397 onwards.

Fulali) tribe that lived in western Sudan. After he went to Hajj, accepted the Wahhabi faith and learnt all its teachings, he returned to his country. There he spread the Wahhabi teachings among the people and he fought with innovations, which he believed had spread among the people.

By connecting and uniting his people in religious beliefs, Shaykh 'Uthman managed to gather the people of his tribe and go to war against the idol worshippers. From 1804 A.D (1216 A.H.) a series of wars took place between these two and, by 1806 A.D. (1218 A.H), he established a government, which was called Sokotora in Sudan. The foundations of this government's organisation and management were based on the Wahhabi ideology. This country included all the areas between the Chad Lake and Timbuktu. This government lasted one century, and in the end the colonising governments gradually invaded it.

One of the things that Shaykh Muhammad would say was: "It is not permissible to send greetings to the souls of the dead and to honour religious people who have died." He also denied and rejected the praising the Prophet (s) did of himself.[1]

In Sumatra

In 1803A.D. (1217 A.H.), three people from the Sumatrian Hajj group were very influenced by the Wahhabi movement while staying in Medinah on their Hajj trip. When these three people returned to their country, they planned to spread Wahhabism among the people of their country. Therefore they were very difficult and uncompromising with regard to people turning their backs on *tawhid*, which they thought was correct and which was in accordance with Wahhabi beliefs[2], and they believed doing *tawassul* to Awliyya' Allah was prohibited. They also prohibited drinking alcohol and gambling, and they also prohibited other acts which were inconsistent with the instructions and orders of the Qur'an.[3]

1. *Al-Da'wah Ila Al-Islam*, p. 360.
2. *i.e. they were harsh, uncompromising and unaccepting that others believed in the *tawhid* which they believed in, and so considered everyone else to be *mushrik*.
3. *Al-Da'wah Ila Al-Islam*, p. 410.

From then onward conflicts arose between the followers of the Wahhabi sect and the non-Muslim residents of Sumatra. In 1821A.D. (1235A.H.), the government of Holland (which was one of the colonising governments) went to war against the Wahhabi Muslims in Sumatra and this war lasted sixteen years. Holland defeated the Wahhabis in the end.[1]

In Egypt

In Egypt, Shaykh Muhammad Abda paid attention to two aspects which the formation of the Wahhabi ideology was based on. One was to fight with innovations (matters which were innovations in his opinion), and the other was to open the door to Ijtihad[2]. When he was studying the science of interpretation in the Abbasi portico of the Al-Azhar[3] University, he used every opportunity to attack the belief in 'worshipping' pious ones (this means honouring and respecting pious ones), visiting graves, intercession, *tawassul* and other similar matters. He also renounced celebrating the Prophet's (s) birthday and he would say its expenses should be spent on teaching the poor. Muhammad Abda renounced these sorts of beliefs in his interpretation (*commentary on verses of the Qur'an) of Surah Amma (Sura 78).

Abda held a main difference with the other Wahhabi supporters and that was the great knowledge and information he had about the world and religion, including his knowledge of the circumstances of the world and its disturbances and ups and downs. This knowledge and information was as a result of the continuous studying of religious teachings, his deep study of political matters, being informed of the French culture and civilisation, his many journeys to Europe and his fellowship with the European scholars, philosophers and politicians. These factors helped him invite the people to matters that Muhammad

1. *Al-Muslimun fi al-'Alam*, vol. 3, p. 68. –Sumatra is one of the big islands in the Indonesian archipelagos.
2. Independent judgement and reasoning on religious matters.
3. Around the old courtyard of the Al-Azhar University, there are many halls or porticos and every one of them has a name. There are also halls which are specific for the university students of some countries. The names of those countries are written on top of the main door of the hall. For example, the Morocco hall is specific for the students who come from Marrakesh.

bin Abd Al-Wahhab had invited people to believe in using his knowledge of psychology and sociology.

Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Ridha, who was Shaykh Muhammad Abda's close friend, helped Shaykh Abda to achieve his aims and he also wrote his thoughts and opinions in the *Al-Manar Magazine* and published them all over the world.[1]

In Marrakesh (Morocco)

In Morocco (Marrakesh), Shaykh Abil Abbas Tijani invited people to abandon matters that he believed were innovations just as Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab did. He invited people to stop visiting graves and a large group of people followed him, but his ideology was not successful.[2]

1. *Zu'ama' Al-Islah fil-'Asr Al-Hadith Ahmad Amin*, p. 21-24. –Some believe that Sayyid Rashid Ridha was not inclined to the Wahhabi way of thinking. It seems that this is because in his travelogue while describing his journeys to Hejaz, he defended and supported Sharif Husayn (refer to his travelogue called *Rihlat*, p. 173 onwards). However, it is a certainty that he later supported the Wahhabis and has left behind many articles with regard to his support of the Wahhabi beliefs (refer to *Kashf Al-Irtiyyab*, p. 62 onwards.
2. Ibid, p. 18.

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-*Miftah al-Karama fi Sharh Qawa'id al-Allamah*, Egypt, first edition

Abbasi: Shaykh Ahmad, a scholar who lived the tenth Hijrah century
-'*Umdat al-Akhbar*, Egypt, Maktabat Al-Tijariyya

Abbasi Mahmood Al-'Aqqad: (contemporary)
-*Al-Islam fi Al-Qarn Al-'Ishrin*, Beirut, 1969A.D.

Abd Al-Razzaq Hasani: Sayyid, an Iraqi
1. *Tarikh Al-Wizarat Al-Iraqiyyah,* Lebanon, third edition, 1385A.H.
2. *Al-Iraq Qadiman wa Hadithan*, Beirut, fourth edition, 1391 A.H.

Abd Al-Qahir Baghdadi: Abu Mansur Shafi'i, died in 429A.H.
-*Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, Egypt, with the corrections of Muhammad Muhyi Al-Din Abd Al-Majid

Abdul-Aziz Al-Muhammad Al-Salman:
- *Al-As'ilah wa Al-Ajwibah fi 'Aqidah Al-Wasitiyyah* (Ibn Taymiyyah's 'Aqidah Al-Wasitiyya), Kuwait, 1390 A.H.

Allamah Hilli: Hasan bin Al-Mutahhar, the great Shi'ah scholar in the eighth and the seventh Hijrah centuries, died in 726 A.H.

1. *Minhaj Al-Karama*, the whole text is in the introduction of Ibn Taymiyyah's book *Minhaj Al-Sunnah* (vol. 1), Tehran edition, Cairo, 1384A.H.
2. *Sharh Tajrid al-I'tiqad Khwaja Nasir Al-Din Tusi*, Qom

Fasi: Taqi Al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad Husayn i Makki, died in 832
- *Shifa' al-Gharam bi Akhbar al-Balad al-Haram*, Egypt, 1956A.D.

Farahani: Sayyid Husayn , contemporary of Nasir Al-Din Shah
- *Safarnameye Hajj*, Tehran, in the solar year 1342

Farhad Mirza: (Hajj, i.e. pilgrim), one of learned people and princes of the Qajar era
-Hajj travelogue called *Hidayat al-Sabil*, Tehran, 1294 A.H.

Fareed Wajdi: (contemporary)
-*Dairat Al-Ma'arif Qarn Al-'Ishrin*, Egypt, second edition

Phillip Hatta:
-*Tarikh Arab*, the Persian translation of Abul Qasim Payanda, Tabriz

Qadiri: 'Amir
-*Madarij Al-Saniyyah fi Radd Ala al-Wahhabiyyah,* Urdu text with Arabic translation, Karachi, 1976

Qalagshandi: Ahmad bin Ali, Shahab Al-Din Shafi'i, died in 821 A.H.

-*Sobh Al-Asha fi Sana'at Al-Inshaa*, Egypt, a picture edition from Amiri's print

Kahala, 'Umar Ridha: (contemporary)
- *Joghrafiyyah Shebh Jazirat Al-Arab*, Egypt, second edition, 1384A.H.

Kurd Ali, Muhammad:
- *Khutat Al-Sham*, Beirut, 1970

Kurdi: (Muhammad Tahir Makki Shafe'i) contemporary
-*Al-Tarikh al-Qawim li Maccah wa Bayt Allah al-Karim*, Beirut, 1385A.H.

Karkukli: Shaykh Rasul, died in 1240
- *Dawhat Al-Wuzaraa*, written in Istanbul Turkish translated in Arabic, Norse, Beirut edition, Karam print-house

Kilid Dar:
-*Tarikh Karbala wa Hair Husayn ('a)*, Persian translator - Sadr Hashimi, Esfehan

Goldezhir:

-*Al-'Aqida wa al-Shari'a fi al-Islam*, Egypt, second edition, the Arabic translators: Dr Muhammad Yusuf Musa, Dr Hasan Ali Abd Al-Qadir and Abdul-Aziz Abd Al-Haqq.

Lothrop Stoddard: American Orientalist

- *Hadir al-'Alam al-Islami* (New World of Islam), translated along with a detailed addendum attached to it by Mafsal Shakeeb Arsalaan, Beirut, Dar Al-Fikr

Lady Daroor:

English explorer, who was in Iraq after World War II and after changes took place in Iraq. Her book counts as one of the sources and documentations of the History of Iraq.

Dijlah wa Furat:

Translated from English to Arabic by Foad Jamil and named fi *Bilad Al-Rafidein*, Baghdad edition, 1961 A.D.

Malik bin Anas: Leader of the Maleki sect, died in 174 A.H.

- *Al-Mowdaa*, Egypt, 1387 A.H.

Muhibbi: Muhammad Amin bin Fadhl Allah Hamawi Hanafi, died in 1111

-*Khulasat al-Athar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Hadi 'Ashar*, Beirut, Khayyat library

Muhammad Abd Al-Rahman Hanafi:

- *Seif al-Abrar al-Maslul Ala al-Fujjar*, Kanpoor (India), 1300 A.H.

Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab: The leader of the Wahhabi sect, died in 1206

1. *Kitab Al-*(text of *Fath Al-Majid* (which we mentioned previously) and also the tenth thesis from *Majmu'at Al-*(we will mention this later)).
2. *Thalath Rasa'il fi 'Aqidat al-Islamiyyah*, Maccah
3. *Aqidat Al-Firqa Al-Najiyyah,* Beirut, 1391A.H.
4. *Kashf Al-Shubuhat*, Maccah
5. *Majmu'at Al-Tawhid*, consists of 16 theses by Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab and other Wahhabi scholars, Qatar
6. *Mukhtasar Sirah al-Rasul*, Qatar
7. *Masa'il al-Jahiliyyah,* Qatar
8. *Hadiyyah Tayyibah* (a part of *Majmu'at Al-Tawhid*), Qatar

Muhammad Thabit: (Egyptian) Contemporary

- *Jawlat fi Rubu al-Sharq al-Adna*, Egypt, third edition, 1952A.D.

Mas'udi: Ali bin Al-Husayn , died in 345 A.H.

- *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jowhar*, Beirut, Dar Al-Andulus

Muskuwya: Ahmad bin Ahmad bin Ya'qub Razi Esfehani, died in 421A.H.
- *Tijarat Al-Umam*, Egypt, 1333 A.H.

Muslim, Ibn Hajjaj Neishabouri Qushayri: died in 261 A.H.
- *Al-Jami' al-Sahih* A.K.A. *Sahih Muslim* (one of the Sihah Sitta), Egypt, Maktabat Muhammad Ali Sabeeh

Muti'i: Shaykh Muhammad Najib, one of the Azhar scholars
-*Tathir al-Fo'ad min Danas Al-I'tiqad*, Istanbul, 1396

Mughniyyah: Shaykh Muhammad Jawad Lobnani, contemporary
-*Hathihiyyah al-Wahhabiyyah*, Beirut, 1964 A.D.

Moqadassi: Bashari Filisteeni - a world explorer in the fourth century.
-*Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, Layden (Holland), 1906 A.D.

Maqrizi: Ahmad Ali Misri, died in 845 A.H.
1. *Khutat*, Beirut, Manshoraat Dar Al-Ihya' Al-O'loom
2. *Al-Suluk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk* (vol. 1, from sec. 3), Cairo 1939A.D.

Manawi: Muhammad bin Ali Misri, died in 1031 A.H.
-Sharh Jami'e Sagheer Siyuti, Egypt, 1373 A.H.

Naib Al-Sadr Shirazi: (Haj (*i.e. pilgrim), at the time of Nasir Al-Din Shah)
-*Tuhfat Al-Haramein*, Hajj itinerary, Bombay

Nasir Khosrow: Abu Mo'in Nasir bin Khosrow Qubadiyani, famous world explorer, died in 481 A.H.
-*Safarname (Travelogue)*, Tehran, in the solar year 1335

Nabhani: Shaykh Yusuf bin Isma'il
- *Shawahid al-Haqq bi Estighathah bi Sayyid al-Khalq*, Beirut, 1350 A.H.

Najafi, Shaykh Abd Al-Husayn : Contemporary
- *Madhi Al-Najaf wa Hadhiriha*, Najaf, 1378

Nuwayri, Ahmad bin Abd Al-Wahhab: Died in 732
-Nihayat Al-Arb fi Fonoon Al-Adab, Egypt, Dar Al-Kotob

Waqidi, Muhammad bin 'Umar: Died in 206 A.H.
- *Kitab Al-Maghazi*, London, 1966

Hidayat: Ridha Qolikhan - one of the historians and people who lived in the Qajar era
- *Rowdhat Al-Safaya Nasiri* (three volumes, which Hidayat has added on to *Rowdhat Al-Safaye Mirkhand*), Tehran, last edition

Yafe'i: Abdullah bin Asa'd Shafe'i, died in 755A.H.
-*Mirat al-Jinan*, India, Haydar Abad, 1338 A.H.

Yaqut: Ibn Abdullah Roomi Hamawi, Shahab Al-Din, died in 626A.H.
1. *Irshad Al-Arib Ila Ma'rifat Al-Adib* A.K.A *Ma'jam Al-Udaba*, Egypt, 1930A.D., corrected by Marglyooth
2. *Mu'jam Al-Buldan*, Leipzig, 1866

Ya'qubi: Ahmad bin Abi Ya'qub A.K.A Ibn Wadhih, died in between the years 278 and 284.
-*Tarikh Ya'qubi*, Beirut, 1379 A.H.

These newspapers and Magazines were also used:

1. Umm Al-Qura newspaper, Maccah edition
2. Al-Bilad Al-Sa'udiyya newspaper, Maccah edition
3. Al-Bilad newspaper, Jeddah edition
4. Akkadh newspaper, Jeddah edition
5. Qafilah Al-Zayt magazine, Dhahran edition
6. Al-Manhal magazine, Maccah edition
7. Yadegaar magazine, Tehran edition

Apart from what has been recorded above, other books and documents were used and are mentioned in the footnotes.